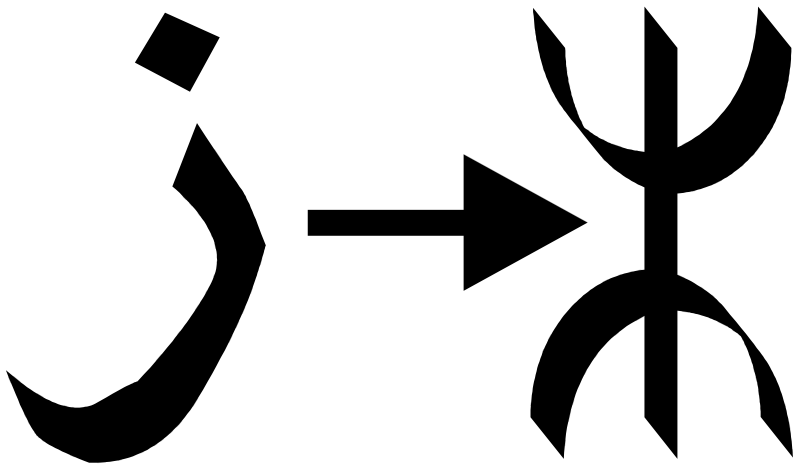
ARABIC INFLUENCE IN GHOMARA BERBER



J. EL HANNOUCHE MA

LEIDEN UNIVERSITY

ARABIC INFLUENCE IN GHOMARA BERBER

Name : J. el Hannouche

Student number : 0212865

Place and date : Amsterdam, 10 March 2010

Subject : master thesis

First reader : Dr M. Kossmann

Second reader : Professor H. Stroomer

Programme : African Linguistics

Specialisation : Berber Languages and Linguistics

Faculty : Humanities, Leiden University

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE 17

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 19

INTRODUCTION 21

TRANSCRIPTION 31

I. PHONOLOGY 33

1. Consonants 33
  1.1. Weakening 34
    1.1.1. Weakening of *t* 35
      1.1.1.1. Spirantization of *t* 35
      1.1.1.2. Debuccalization of *t* 36
      1.1.1.3. Elision of *t* 38
    1.1.2. Weakening of *d* 39
    1.1.3. Weakening of *k* 39
      1.1.3.1. Spirantization of *k* 39
      1.1.3.2. Debuccalization of *k* 40
    1.1.4. Weakening of *g* 41
    1.1.5. Weakening of *b* 41
  1.2. Phonemic status of weakened consonants 41
    1.2.1. Phonemic distinction between *t* and *θ* 42
    1.2.2. Phonemic distinction between *d* and *δ* 42
    1.2.3. Phonemic distinction between *š* and *ç* 42
    1.2.4. Phonemic distinction between *g* and g^j 42
    1.2.5. Phonemic distinction between *b* and *β* 43

2. Vowels 43
  2.1. Phonemic status of schwa 43

3. Assimilation 44
3.1. Assimilation of *yan* “one” 44
3.2. Assimilation of *n* “of” 44
3.3. Assimilation of *kull* “all” 45
3.4. Assimilation of indirect object third person *as* 45
3.5. Assimilation of imperative plural suffix *awθ* 45

4. Sequences of two vowels 46

II. NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY 49

1. Nouns 49
1.1. Singular nouns 49
1.1.1. Masculine singular nouns 49
1.1.2. Feminine singular nouns 50
1.2. Plural nouns 51
1.2.1. Masculine plural nouns 51
1.2.1.1 Suffix plural formation 52
1.2.1.1.1 Non-extended base 52
1.2.1.1.2. Extended base 53
1.2.1.1.3. Vowel change 53
1.2.1.1.4. Gemination and vowel change 53
1.2.1.1.5. Elision of final vowel 54
1.2.1.2. Apophonic plural formation 54
1.2.2. Feminine plural nouns 55
1.2.2.1. Suffix plural formation 57
1.2.2.1.1. Non-extended base 57
1.2.2.1.2. Extended base 57
1.2.2.1.3. Gemination and vowel insertion 58
1.2.2.2. Apophonic plural formation 58
1.3. Other functions of feminine nouns 59
1.3.1. Semantic distinctive pairs 59
1.3.1.1. Collective nouns 59

1.3.1.2. Diminutive nouns 61
1.3.1.3. Augmentative nouns 61
1.3.1.4. Dendronyms 61
1.3.2. Non-semantic distinctive pairs 62

2. Non-affix nouns 62
2.1. Kinship terminology 62
2.2. Arabic loans 63
2.2.1. Masculine singular nouns 63
2.2.2. Feminine singular nouns 64
2.2.3. Plural nouns 65

3. État libre and état d'annexion 66
3.1. Masculine nouns 66
3.2. Feminine nouns 67
3.3. Use of état d'annexion 68
3.3.1. Use of état d'annexion after prepositions 68
3.3.2. Use of état d'annexion after *yan*/*yat* “one” 68

4. Adjectives 69
4.1. Attributive adjectives 69
4.1.1. Masculine singular nouns 69
4.1.2. Feminine singular nouns 70
4.1.3. Masculine plural nouns 70
4.1.4. Feminine plural nouns 70
4.2. Predicative adjectives 71
4.2.1. Masculine singular nouns 71
4.2.2. Feminine singular nouns 71
4.2.3. Masculine plural nouns 71
4.2.4. Feminine plural nouns 71
4.3. Participial adjectival modification 72
4.4. Arabic loans 72
4.4.1. Attributive adjectives 72
4.4.1.1. Masculine singular nouns 72

4.4.1.2. Feminine singular nouns 73
4.4.1.3. Plural nouns 73
4.4.2. Predicative adjectives 73
4.4.2.1. Masculine singular nouns 73
4.4.2.2. Feminine singular nouns 74
4.4.2.3. Plural nouns 74

5. Quantification 74
5.1. Numerals 74
5.1.1. Cardinal numerals 74
5.1.2. Ordinal numerals 76
5.2. Indefinite pronouns 76
5.3. Arabic loans 77
5.3.1. Quantifier *kull* “all” 77
5.3.2. Quantifier *bezzaf* “many” 77
5.3.3. Quantifier *lbaɛḍ* “some” 77

III. VERBAL MORPHOLOGY 79

1. Affixes 79
1.1. Verb 79
1.2. Imperative 79
1.3. Participle 80
1.4. Arabic loans 80
1.4.1. Arabic verbs 80
1.4.2. Arabic participles 83

2. Stems 81
2.1. Verb types 84
2.1.1. Type CCC 84
2.1.2. Type CCVC 85
2.1.2.1. Type CCuC 85
2.1.2.2. Type CCaC 85
2.1.3. Type CVCC 85

2.1.3.1. Type CaCC 86
2.1.3.2. Type CiCC 86
2.1.4. Type CCCa 86
2.1.5. Type CĈC 86
2.1.6. Type ĈC 87
2.1.7. Type ĈCu 88
2.1.8. Type ĈVC 88
2.1.8.1. Type ĈuC 88
2.1.8.2. Type ĈaC 88
2.1.8.3. Type ĈiC 88
2.1.9. Type CaĈ 89
2.1.10. Type CĈ 89
2.1.11. Type CC 89
2.1.12. Type aCC 90
2.1.13. Type CCu 90
2.1.14. Type CaC 91
2.1.15. Type aCaC 91
2.1.16. Type Ĉ 91
2.1.17. Type ĈV 92
2.1.17.1. Type Ĉu 92
2.1.17.2. Type Ĉi 92
2.1.18. Type aC 92
2.2. Stem formations 93
2.2.1. Formation of preterite 93
2.2.1.1. Change of *a* into *u* 95
2.2.1.2. Change of *u* into *a* 95
2.2.1.3. Change of *i* into *a* 96
2.2.2. Formation of intensive 96
2.2.2.1. Gemination 97
2.2.2.2. Prefixation of *t* 97
2.2.2.3. Prefixation of *tt* 99
2.2.2.4. Prefixation of *t* and infixation of *a* 99
2.2.2.5. Prefixation of *t* and suffixation of *a* 100

2.2.2.6. Prefixation of *t*, gemination and infixation of *a* 100
2.3. Derivational prefixes 100
2.3.1. Causative prefix *ss* 101
2.3.2. Onomatopoeic prefix *ss* 101
2.4. Arabic loans 101
2.4.1. Intensive marking of Arabic loans 101

3. The verb "to be" 102
3.1. Present tense 103
3.1.1. Non-verbal construction 103
3.1.2. Verbal construction 103
3.1.3. Participial constructions 104
3.1.3.1. The participle *illan* 104
3.1.3.2. The participle *igan* 105
3.2. Past tense 106
3.2.1. Verbal construction 106
3.2.2. Participial construction 107
3.3. Future tense 108
3.4. Intensive aspect 108
3.4.1. Verbal construction 108
3.4.2. Participial construction 109
3.5. The verb *ll* as an auxiliary verb 109
3.5.1. Past tense of intensive aspect 109
3.5.2. Stative verbs 110
3.5.2.1. Past tense 110
3.5.2.2. Future tense 110
3.5.2.3. Imperative mood 111
3.6. The past particle *ag* 111
3.7. Arabic loans 112

IV. PRONOUNS 113

1. Independent pronouns 113

2. Direct objects 113
2.1. Postverbal clitics 113
2.2. Preverbal clitics 115
2.3. Arabic loans 116
3. Indirect objects 117
3.1. Postverbal clitics 117
3.2. Preverbal clitics 118
4. Prepositional suffixes 119
5. Possessive suffixes 119
6. Adnominal suffixes 120
7. Demonstrative pronouns 120
7.1. Proximal deixis 120
7.2. Distal deixis 121
7.3. Relative deixis 122
7.4. Anaphoric deixis 123
8. Interrogatives 123
8.1. Non-prepositional interrogatives 123
8.1.1. Interrogative *škun* “who” 123
8.1.2. Interrogative *šwa* “what” 124
8.1.3. Interrogative *liyaš* “why” 124
8.1.4. Interrogative *amça* “how” 124
8.1.5. Interrogative *fhayweç* “when” 124
8.1.6. Interrogative *ani* “where” 125
8.1.7. Interrogative *layn* “whither” 125
8.2. Prepositional interrogatives 125
8.2.1. Dative preposition *i* 125
8.2.2. Locative preposition *g* 125
8.2.3. Instrumental preposition *s* 125
8.2.4. Implicative preposition *x* 125
8.2.5. Comitative preposition *i* 126

9. Arabic loans 126
9.1. Independent pronouns 126
9.2. Possessive pronouns 126
9.3. Prepositional suffixes 126
9.4. Direct objects 127

V. PREPOSITIONS 129

1. Non-composite prepositions 129
1.1. Preposition *i* 129
1.1.1. Dative preposition *i* 129
1.1.2. Coordinative preposition *i* 129
1.1.3. Comitative preposition *i* 130
1.1.3.1. Before a noun 130
1.1.3.2. Before a pronominal suffix 130
1.2. Allative prepositions 130
1.2.1. Allative preposition *dar* 130
1.2.2. Allative preposition *γar* 131
1.2.3. Allative preposition *daγur* 131
1.2.3.1. Before a noun 131
1.2.3.2. Before a pronominal suffix 131
1.2.4. Allative preposition *εa* 132
1.3. Genitive preposition *n* 132
1.3.1. Before a noun 132
1.3.2. Before a pronominal suffix 133
1.4. Implicative preposition *xf* 133
1.4.1. Form *xf* 133
1.4.2. Form *x* 133
1.4.3. Form *f* 134
1.5. Locative prepositions 134
1.5.1. Locative preposition *g* 134
1.5.1.1. Before a noun 134
1.5.1.2. Before a pronominal suffix 135

1.5.2. Locative preposition *d* 135
1.6. Ablative preposition *zg* 135
1.6.1. Before a noun 135
1.6.2. Before a pronominal suffix 135
1.7. Instrumental preposition *s* 136

2. Composite prepositions 136
2.1. Composition with locative preposition *g* 136
2.1.1. Composite preposition *g^{w}um n* “in front of” 136
2.1.2. Composite preposition *g^{w}ammas n* “in the middle of” 136
2.1.3. Composite preposition *g^{w}af n* “on top of” 137
2.1.4. Composite preposition *g^{j}enna* “above” 137
2.2. Composition with instrumental preposition *s* 137
2.2.1. Composite preposition *zḍu* “under” 137

3. Arabic loans 138
3.1. Arabic preposition *bayn* “between” 138
3.1.1. Before a noun 138
3.1.2. Before a pronominal suffix 138
3.2. Arabic preposition *bi* “with” 139
3.3. Arabic preposition *bla* “without” 139
3.4. Arabic preposition *fi* “in” 139

VI. SYNTAX 141

1. Non-verbal sentences 141
1.1 Negation of non-verbal sentences 143

2. Verbal sentences 144
2.1. Preverbal elements 145
2.1.1. Preverbal element *ša* 145
2.1.2. Preverbal element *a* 145
2.1.3. Preverbal element *ara* 147
2.1.4. Arabic loans 149

2.2. Negation of verbal sentences 150
2.2.1. Negation of imperative 150
2.2.2. Negation of future 151
2.2.3. Negation of preterite 152
2.2.4. Negation of intensive 152
2.2.5. Arabic loans 152

3. Attraction 154
3.1. Attraction of *d* “hither” 154
3.1.1. Preverbal elements 154
3.1.2. Conjunctions 156
3.1.3. Relative sentences 156
3.1.4. Arabic loans 157
3.2. Attraction of direct objects 157
3.2.1. Preverbal elements 157
3.2.2. Conjunctions 159
3.2.3. Relative sentences 159
3.3. Attraction of indirect objects 160
3.3.1. Preverbal elements 160
3.3.2. Conjunctions 161
3.3.3. Relative sentences 161

4. Relative sentences 162
4.1. Non-participial constructions 162
4.1.1. Relativizer *a* 162
4.1.1.1. Arabic loans 163
4.1.2. Relativizer *illa* 164
4.2. Participial constructions 166
4.3. Cleft sentences 167

APPENDICES 169

1. Appendix I: population statistics 169

2. Maps 172
2.1. Appendix II: official map of Ghomara 172
2.2. Appendix III: traditional map of Ghomara 173
2.3. Appendix IV: map of Bni Buẓra and Bni Menṣur 175

TEXTS 177

1. *Lqiṣṣa n ugʲdi iδ ušnekkaf* 177
1.1. The story of the jackal and the hedgehog 181

2. *Lqiṣṣa n ugʲdi i tmuda* 182
2.1. The story of the jackal and the pig 189

3. *Lqiṣṣa n ušnekkaf i ssbaɛ* 190
3.1. The story of the hedgehog and the lion 197

4. *Lqiṣṣa n ugʲdi i ssbaɛ* 198
4.1. The story of the jackal and the lion 212

5. *Tiḥemmaran* 214
5.1. Riddles 215

6. *Baḥiθ g ššelḥa* 216
6.1. Berber linguist 219

7. *Tameɣra* 220
7.1. The wedding 226

8. *Lḥinna* 228
8.1. The pre-wedding celebration 230

9. *Lfarn n waçal* 231
9.1. The clay oven 232

10. *Lfilaḥa* 233
10.1. Farming 241

VERBLIST 243

1. Type CCC 243

2. Type CVCC 245
2.1. Type CaCC 245
2.2. Type CiCC 245

3. Type CĈC 246

4. Type ĈC 249

5. Type ĈCu 251

6. Type ĈVC 252
6.1. Type ĈuC 252
6.2. Type ĈaC 253
6.3. Type ĈiC 253

7. Type CVĈ 254

8. Type CĈ 254

9. Type CC 255

10. Type aCC 257

11. Type CCu 257

12. Type Ĉ 258

13. Type ĈV 260
13.1. Type Ĉu 260
13.2. Type Ĉi 260

WORDLIST 261

ABBREVIATIONS 289

BIBLIOGRAPHY 293

PREFACE

The master thesis in front of you is written within the framework of the programme African Linguistics, specialisation Berber Languages and linguistics at the Faculty of Humanities, Leiden University. This thesis also contains material from the thesis which we have written in 2008 within the framework of the programme Arabic, Persian and Turkish Languages and Cultures, specialisation Arabic Languages and Cultures also at the Faculty of Humanities, Leiden University.

The reason for this is that the latter thesis was a combined thesis for both of the aforementioned programmes. Because of the fact that we have gathered some more material in the meantime, we felt the need to incorporate this material in this thesis.

The focus in this thesis will be the Arabic influence (i.e. the Moroccan Arabic influence) in Ghomara Berber. We will achieve this goal through the study of a number of types of Arabic loans in Ghomara Berber on different linguistic levels.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis could not have been completed without the help of many. I am delighted to acknowledge the assistance of all those who have contributed to this work in one way or the other. I particularly wish to express my gratitude to the following persons and institutions.

I am indebted to the various funds of Leiden University for their financial support, which made my fieldwork possible: Leids Universitair Fonds, Curatorenfonds, Letterenfonds and International Office. I also owe much gratitude to Stichting De Korinthiërs for its additional financial aid and to L. Buis, student counsellor at Leiden University, for his advice on the fundraising.

Without Professor H. Stroomer, the interesting subject of Ghomara Berber would not have come to my attention nor would I have been inspired to work on it. I am grateful for his advice, guidance and assistance. I am very grateful to Dr M. Kossmann for his contributions especially for his many remarks and the fact that he allowed me to use the systematic outline of his own work as a template for this thesis.[1]

My fieldwork would not have been possible without the help of many people in Morocco. First, I want to thank Professor A. Allati of the L'Université Abdelmalek Essaâdi for his advice and efforts to find useful informants. I also owe a great debt of gratitude to Abdelhay Meftah, who works as an official at the province of Chefchaouen and who brought me into contact with native speakers of Ghomara Berber. I am also thankful to his sister Naziha Meftah who brought me into contact with him. I am very grateful to my main informant Muhammad Hudda for his assistance, time and patience. I am also very grateful to my wife Hayet Aïssaoui who assisted me during my last fieldwork a great deal by interviewing female informants which ultimately enabled me to interview a female informant. As a native speaker of Tashelhiyt Berber she was able to communicate with the informants which confirms that Tashelhiyt Berber is intelligible to Ghomara Berber to a certain degree. Other informants also deserve mention for their additional assistance and hospitality: Fadila, Zdohra, Ahmed El Madani Akhrif, Abdullah, Abdelsalam, Husayn, Muhammad, and Abdelaziz.

[1] M. Kossmann, *Grammaire du parler berbère de Figuig (Maroc oriental)* (Paris etc.: Éditions Peeters, 1997).

INTRODUCTION

Berber

Morocco has the largest number of Berber speakers in North-Africa (roughly 15 million) followed by Algeria (roughly 4 million) and Libya (roughly 1,5 million). The geographical distribution of Berber in Morocco consists of three main domains: the Rif, Middle Atlas and High Atlas and the Sous plains and the Anti Atlas.[2] The respective Berber languages spoken in these areas are: Tarifiyt, Tamazight (or Middle Atlas Berber) and Tashelhiyt. Because census data usually does not comprise linguistic data, we can only estimate the number of speakers of these languages. In his inaugural oration, Stroomer estimated that the number of speakers of Tarifiyt is between one and two million while two to three million people speak Tamazight and six to eight million speak Tashelhiyt.[3]

North Morocco

North Morocco consists of a large Arabophone area in addition to the Berberophone Rif. Most people who live in urban conglomerates (such as Tangier and Tétouan) are exclusively Arabophone while some people in inhospitable rural areas (mainly women) are exclusively Berberophone. Between these two groups, we find a large group of bilingual people. They speak a form of Tarifiyt as well as Moroccan Arabic (MA). In addition, there is a wide variety of Berber dialects within the Rif. We are therefore dealing with a very diverse linguistic situation in North Morocco.

Within this wide variety of Berber dialects we generally distinguish between three main dialects: Tarifiyt, Senhaja de Srair and Ghomara Berber.[4] Tarifiyt forms by far the largest group of Berber in North Morocco. For this reason, the other two are mostly neglected when speaking of the main domains of Berberophone areas in Morocco. These two small areas are located in the more Western part of the Rif. Senhaja de Srair is a relatively small area in the West of the Tarifiyt speaking area. Ghomara is located West of Senhaja de Srair and comprises a small Berberophone enclave. Ghomara Berber has been thought

[2] N. van den Boogert and H. Stroomer, *Tashelhiyt Berber of South Morocco: a morphological survey* (Leiden, 2004), p. 1.
[3] H. Stroomer, *In de schaduw van het Arabisch: over niet-Arabische talen en culturen in Noord-Afrika en het Midden-Oosten* (Leiden: Leiden University, 2002), p. 14.
[4] The people who speak Ghomara Berber refer to their language as *šše*l*ħa*, which is commonly used in MA to denote Berber in general. We will refer to this language as Ghomara Berber.

to be extinct in the past.[5] It is still considered extinct by the Ethnologue.[6] However, Behnstedt had already reported in 2002 that Ghomara Berber is not extinct.[7]

Ghomara

Ghomara belongs to the province (*iqlim*) of Chefchaouen. It is located between the provinces of Tétouan and Al Hoceima and is skirted by the Mediterranean Sea in the North (see Appendix II). Ghomara is administratively divided in three *qiyada*[8]: Asifan, Taleḥbuṭ and Bu Aḥmed. The *qiyada* of Bu Aḥmed consists of three *žamaεa*[9]: Asṭiḥa, Tuzgan and Bni Buẓra. Bni Buẓra which will be our focal point in this thesis is on its turn divided in four *mašyaxa*[10] corresponding to the four *rbaε*: Alwusṭiyyen, Bni Menselman, Bni Musa and Tadman (see Appendix II).

The actual official map of Ghomara shows a somewhat different image than the traditional map (see Appendix II). Traditionally Ghomara is divided in nine *žamaεa*: Bni Ziyat, Bni Zeyel[11], Bni Buẓra, Bni Menṣur, Bni Selman, Bni Smiḥ, Bni Grir, Bni Xaled and Bni Rzin (see Appendix III).[12] In the official map, the *žamaεa* of Tuzgan and Asṭiḥa roughly cover the area that is traditionally referred to as Bni Ziyat. The *žamaεa* of Tasift and Taleḥbuṭ cover the area of Bni Zeyel while Bni Xaled seems to have been divided in the *žamaεa* of Awnan and Bab Berrad. Finally, in the official map the *žamaεa* of Bni Grir is renamed to Amtar. Apart from official documents, most people still use the traditional division of nine *žamaεa*. We, on the other hand will employ the official map and whenever necessary we will mention the corresponding *žamaεa* according to the traditional map.

Bni Buẓra

Bni Buẓra is the largest Berberophone *žamaεa* in Ghomara. It covers an area of about 150 square kilometres and is located east of the *žamaεa* of Asṭiḥa and west of the *žamaεa* of Amtar. In the north, Bni Buẓra is skirted by the Mediterranean Sea while in the south it is bordered on by the *žamaεa* of Bni Menṣur and Bni Selman (see Appendix II).

---

[5] Cf. G.S. Colin, 'Le parler berbère des Ġmāra', in *Hespéris* 9, (Paris: Librairie Larose, 1929), p. 42.
[6] Cf. P. Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe en el Rif', in *Estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí* 6 (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 2002), p. 10 and http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=gho
[7] Id.
[8] Administrative district presided by a *qayd* who is accountable to the provincial council (*lεamala*).
[9] We will employ the Arabic terminology to avoid ambiguous terms like 'village'.
[10] Administrative district presided by a *šayx* who is accountable to the *qiyada*.
[11] Colin refers to this *žamaεa* as Bni Zedžel. Colin, 'Le parler berbère', p. 50.
[12] At the time of Colin's fieldwork, this traditional map was the actual map of Ghomara. Colin, 'Le parler berbère', pp. 44-50.

The inhabitants of Bni Buẓra are mostly involved in agricultural activities. The most important being the cultivation of wheat, corn and barley and the cultivation of various fruit bearing trees. In addition the breeding of cattle like goats, sheep and cows is a vital activity for the inhabitants of Bni Buẓra. The majority of these activities are carried out in the interior, which is characterized by rocky surfaces and slopes. The remainder is carried out on the coast along the Mediterranean Sea in an area stretching from Bu Aḥmed to Amtar. Along this coastal strip, another vital activity takes place namely fishing, especially for sardines.

Even though Bni Buẓra is a traditional and agricultural community it seems that there is a shift in the direction towards modernization as a result of national programmes. The national programme for the development of electricity in the northern villages for example has set the goal to provide electricity in all the villages. Official numbers show that 90% of the *duwwar* of Bni Buẓra are provided with electricity. As to drinking water, official data indicates that at least Bu Aḥmed and the *duwwar* Tadman are provided with a system of drinking water. Other plans for development include the advancement of the educational sector and the development of the underdeveloped cultural sector through the creation of a library and a reading facility.

Bu Aḥmed is the centre of Bni Buẓra and one of the three *qiyada* of Ghomara as we have mentioned. Many important activities are centred in Bu Aḥmed. Here, an essential weekly market is held every Tuesday where a variety of goods is offered. This market fulfils the needs of consumers not only from Bni Buẓra but also from neighbouring *žamaɛa* like Bni Menṣur and Bni Selman. Most important among these goods are consumer foods, agricultural goods and home furniture. Bu Aḥmed is also provided with an elementary school, a medical clinic and a small court, which deals with local affairs. This makes Bu Aḥmed an important centre for the inhabitants of Bni Buẓra and other surrounding *žamaɛa*.

This is also because an important road (number 414) runs through Bu Aḥmed, which connects it to the two closest cities Tétouan and Chefchaouen. While this has some less beneficial effects on local commerce (competition due to the import of goods from Tétouan) most inhabitants benefit from this connection to these cities. They attend these cities for affairs, which are not provided in Bu Aḥmed such as extending medical, legal and educational affairs. The inhabitants of Bni Buẓra reach the centre of Bu Aḥmed by means of public auto buses, which commute between the mountainous areas and the centre of Bu Aḥmed.

Ghomara Berber

The distribution and delimitation of the linguistic borders between Berberophone and Arabophone areas, the interference between the two as well as the distribution of the diverse Berber languages remain to be

important subjects in Berber linguistics. The linguistic enclave of Ghomara is a phenomenon, which is likely to be a valuable addition to our knowledge of linguistic distribution as well as linguistic interference. However, this phenomenon has not been investigated thoroughly yet.

Colin wrote an article in 1929 in which he attached four small texts, which give us a general idea of some linguistic aspects of Ghomara Berber.[13] Apart from this article, there are no extensive publications on the linguistic situation of Ghomara Berber. We are of the opinion that the Berber language spoken in this linguistic enclave of Ghomara is highly interesting not only because of its origin (South Morocco[14]) but also because of the interaction with MA and Tarifiyt.

In order to investigate this linguistic phenomenon we conducted fieldwork in December 2006, May 2007 and August 2009. During these five weeks, we have spoken to several speakers of Ghomara Berber and recorded material, which we will present here. Our main objective was to make a grammatical survey of the most important aspects of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Ghomara Berber. In addition, we were interested in the distribution of Ghomara Berber, the number of speakers and the interference with MA.

We carried out the research through elicitation by means of questionnaires. The informants translated either from Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) to Ghomara Berber or from MA to Ghomara Berber. We recorded this material on a tape recorder and at the same time we processed it on a notebook computer. After we compared the recordings and the digital material, we double-checked with the informants to be sure that there were no, or at least not much, discrepancies.

Our main informant, Muhammad Hudda, studied MSA. He was therefore able to translate from MSA to Ghomara Berber. He is a middle-aged man who lives with his family in Bni Buẓra in the *duwwar* Σamṭiqan (*rbaε* of Bni Musa). He works as a local representative of the people (*mumaθθil, nayb*) in the council of the *žamaεa*. In this council he represents the inhabitants of the *duwwar* of Σamṭiqan, Maḥmud and Faliz with regard to matters like electricity, drinking water and transportation roads. In his younger years, he studied the Quran in Bni Buẓra. Because of his knowledge of the Quran and MSA, people call him '*fqih*'. When he is not working as a representative, he works on the farmland with his family.

Because of his knowledge of MSA as well as Ghomara Berber, Muhammad was a very useful informant. He was able to understand questions with a grammatical substrate. On the other hand, we could use grammatical terminology of MSA. This made the completion of the questionnaires more efficient. While for instance it was difficult to explain to some other informants the meaning of the imperative, we were able to ask Muhammad the 'amr' of a certain verb. Another advantage of the use of MSA was the

[13] Colin, 'Le parler berbère'.
[14] Colin, 'Le parler berbère', pp. 45-50 and A. Gaudio, *Maroc du nord: Cités Andalouses et Montagnes Berbères* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1981), p. 107-109.

fact that we could avoid the risk of mistranslations, which could be the result of the use of local MA (of Tétouan). The use of MSA would also reduce the chances for the occurrence of ambiguities.

In addition, Muhammad had additional information for us because of his work as a representative. He could supply us with information about the language distribution, economics and geography. His connections with the local *šayx* proved also to be valuable since he was able to get us into the *duwwar* without any problems. As for his connections to the *qiyada,* these enabled us to obtain an official survey of the *duwwar*, census data and an official map

Muhammad Hudda was not the only inhabitant from Bni Buẓra who assisted us during our fieldwork and who played the role of informant. This is partly because the largest group of speakers of Ghomara Berber live in Bni Buẓra. Together with Bni Menṣur, Bni Buẓra composes the linguistic enclave of Ghomara. Bni Buẓra is the nearest to the centre of Bu Aḥmed and therefore the easiest to attend. Consequently, the most speakers we encountered in Bu Aḥmed where from Bni Buẓra. Our grammatical survey thus deals with the speech of Bni Buẓra.

According to Muhammad Hudda and the other informants, the only two Berberophone *žamaεa* are Bni Buẓra and Bni Menṣur while the rest is Arabophone (see Appendix IV). Most Berberophone people are bilingual and also speak MA (dialect of Tétouan). In Bni Buẓra the *rbaε* of Bni Musa and Alwuṣṭiyyen are Berberophone while in Bni Menṣur only the *rbaε* of Bni Σruṣ is Berberophone (see Appendix I and IV).[15]

Based on the census of 1994 Bni Musa had 3.957 inhabitants while Alwuṣṭiyyen had 1.858 inhabitants (see Appendix I). These two Berberophone *rbaε* had a total of 5.815 inhabitants in 1994. Calculations based on the growth rate and the total number of inhabitants in 2004 according to the census of 2004 show that the number of inhabitants in Bni Musa and Alwuṣṭiyyen together was about 7.408 in 2004.[16] As for Bni Σruṣ, in 1994 it had 1.999 inhabitants. In 2004, the population had grown to about 2.547 based on calculations.[17] Based on the data and these calculations we can carefully conclude that the total number of speakers of Ghomara Berber in 2004 was roughly 10.000.[18]

[15] In 19 *duwwar* of the 34 *duwwar* of Bni Buẓra Berber is spoken while in 7 of the 33 *duwwar* of Bni Menṣur Berber is spoken (see Appendix I). In the other *duwwar* and in other parts of Ghomara MA is spoken.
[16] The growth rate between 1994 and 2004 was 2,451 percent annually based on the total growth of the population from 11.734 in 1994 to 14.950 in 2004 in Bni Buẓra.
[17] We have employed the growth rate of Bni Buẓra since there was no census data available at the time of our fieldwork with regard to the number of inhabitants of Bni Menṣur in 2004. This way we could obtain an indication of the number of inhabitants. There is no reason why the growth rates would differ significantly. The officials reported to us that we could estimate the number of inhabitants in this manner.
[18] In 2004 there was an estimated total of 7.408 inhabitants in the Berberophone *duwwar* of Bni Musa and Alwuṣṭiyyen. In the Berberophone *duwwar* of Bni Σruṣ there was an estimated number of 2.547 inhabitants in 2004. This totals up to 9.955 Berberophone inhabitants in Ghomara in 2004.

According to this data and calculations, about fifty percent of the inhabitants of Bni Buẓra is Berberophone while roughly fourteen percent of the population of Bni Menṣur is Berberophone.[19] This corresponds to the percentages, which Muhammad Hudda as well as other informants reported to us. They reported that half of the population of Bni Buẓra is Berberophone while ten to fifteen percent of Bni Menṣur is Berberophone.

Ghomara Berber studies

As we have mentioned before we are in the presence of view studies on Ghomara Berber. The most extensive fieldwork was conveyed by Colin in 1928. Colin reports that at the time of his fieldwork all the *rbaε* of Bni Buẓra were Berber speaking with the exception of Bni Ben-Sliman, which corresponds to Bni Menselman.[20] It is not clear whether the *rbaε* of Tadman already was an individual *rbaε* at this time because Colin does not mention it. If it belonged to another *rbaε* or did not exist yet than the situation with regard to the Berber speaking portion of Bni Buẓra has not much changed during the years, since today all the *rbaε* of Bni Buẓra are Berber speaking with the exception of Tadman and Bni Menselman.

As to Bni Menṣur, Colin reports that Berber was only spoken in the *rbaε* of Bni Σruṣ.[21] He mentioned the following *duwwar* as part of the *rbaε* of Bni Σruṣ: Isuka, Bni Σfara, Aγil Σazeb, Tawrart, Tužgan[22], Iṭruhaš[23], Takenza[24], Ižεaden, Içurdaden and Tazemmurt.[25] According to the official list Tazemmurt belongs to the *rbaε* of Bni Musa which in turn belongs to the *žamaεa* of Bni Buẓra.[26] Since it is close to the border separating Bni Buẓra from Bni Menṣur there might have been a shift over time. It is still a Berber speaking *duwwar* though. As to Ižεaden and Içurdaden, even though they are officially not part of

[19] In 2004 the number of speakers of Berber in Bni Buẓra was about 7.408 on a total population of 14.950. As for Bni Menṣur we have calculated that the number of speakers of Berber was about 2.547 on an estimated total population of 17.976. The total population of Bni Menṣur was calculated by applying the growth rate of Bni Buẓra between 1994 and 2004 to the number of inhabitants in Bni Menṣur in 1994. The total population of Bni Buẓra in 2004 is derived from the census of 2004.
[20] Bni Benselman corresponds to Bni Menselman, which is nowadays the official name of this *žamaεa*. Cf. Colin, 'Le parler berbère', p. 44.
[21] Colin, 'Le parler berbère', p. 44.
[22] Colin mentions that one informant reported Tužgan to him. Colin, 'Le parler berbère', p. 44.
[23] Colin mentions that one informant reported Iṭruhaš to him. Colin, 'Le parler berbère', p. 44.
[24] According to our informants and recent official data, Takenza corresponds to Taženza. Cf. Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe', p. 11.
[25] Colin, 'Le parler berbère', p. 44.
[26] Behnstedt designates Tazemmurt as a *duwwar* belonging to Bni Menṣur instead of Bni Buẓra. At the same time he designates the *duwwar* south of Tazemmurt, Isuka, as a *duwwar* belonging to Bni Buẓra. Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe', p. 18. Colin reports that both Isuka and Tazemmurt belong to Bni Menṣur. Colin, 'Le parler berbère', p. 44. Since these two *rbaε* are located in the area between the two *žamaεa*, there have possibly been some changes over time. The *qiyada* of Bu Aḥmed reported to us that Tazemmurt now belongs to the *žamaεa* of Bni Buẓra while Isuka belongs to the *žamaεa* of Bni Menṣur.

the *rbaε* of Bni Σruṣ they were also reported to me by an informant.[27] Seemingly, even this situation has not changed much because nowadays the *rbaε* of Bni Σruṣ is still the only *rbaε* of Bni Menṣur where Berber is spoken.

According to Colin M. A. Mouliéras had designated three *žamaεa* as entirely or partly Berber speaking as early as 1899: Bni Buẓra, Bni Menṣur and Bni Smiḥ.[28] Despite this fact Augustin Bernard and P. Moussard wrote in 1924: "Ghomara ont oublié leur langue."[29] Contrary to this report of Bernard and Moussard, Leopold Justinard was able to outline the Berber speaking enclave of Ghomara in a map in his *Manuel de berbère marocain* (*dialecte rifain)*.[30] After Colin's confirmation in 1929 that Bni Buẓra and Bni Menṣur were still Berber speaking it seems that there haven't been much reports about the linguistic situation in Ghomara. Gaudio makes a short remark in 1981 about the linguistic enclave: "Les Beni-Bouzra et les Beni-Mansor sont toujours bilingues et emploient l'arabe autant que le berbère, notamment sur les marchés et dans la vie publique. Les deux langues sont d'ailleurs souvent mélangées. Ainsi le dialecte berbère appelé "chelka" est constitué presque pour moitié de mots et d'expressions arabes qui prêtent mieux aux exigences linguistiques modernes par leur variété et la richesse du vocabulaire."[31]

Behnstedt has done the most recent study on Ghomara Berber in 2002. He presented his findings in a linguistic map in which he confirmed that Bni Buẓra and Bni Menṣur were still Berber speaking. The linguistic map of Behnstedt shows the geographical distribution of Berber in Ghomara. There are some differences with our own findings (see Appendix IV/map 3), which we will discuss below. The differences concern the following *duwwar*, which Behnstedt designates as Berber speaking: Bu Aḥmed, Bu Sekkin and Amṭiq.[32]

Behnstedt cites Colin with regard to Bu Aḥmed who mentioned that the elderly still understood Berber but did not speak it anymore.[33] But Colin dealt with Bu Aḥmed[34] in the *žamaεa* of Bni Smiḥ and not Bu Aḥmed in the *žamaεa* of Bni Buẓra. In the map of Behnstedt though, Bu Aḥmed of Bni Buẓra is designated as Berber speaking. According to our information, Bu Aḥmed of Bni Buẓra is Arabophone. There are some people though from the rural areas who have come to live in Bu Aḥmed recently and who

[27] This informant from Bni Menṣur, Ahmed Akhrif, added to this list the following *duwwar* as being part of Bni Σruṣ: Imulayen and Bussef. Ahmed was the only informant who provided these two *duwwar*. Behnstedt does not mention these *duwwar*. In addition, Behnstedt was not able to locate Ižεaden and Içurdaden on his map. Cf. Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe', p. 11.
[28] Colin, 'Le parler berbère', p. 42.
[29] Id.
[30] Id.
[31] Gaudio, *Maroc du nord*, p. 110.
[32] Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe', p. 18.
[33] Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe', p. 11.
[34] Colin notes Bu-Yaḥmed instead of Bu Aḥmed. These two correspond to each other though. Cf. Colin, 'Le parler berbère', p. 44. Behnstedt notes Bu Aḥmed for both *žamaεa* (Bni Buẓra and Bni Smiḥ). Cf. Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe', p. 11.

speak Berber. Also the children of these families who have recently moved to this centre speak Berber. There are not many occasions to speak Berber though in the centre of Bu Aḥmed since most people do not understand nor speak Berber. All informants have designated Bu Aḥmed as Arabophone, especially since this is the centre where people of different areas meet who are not able to speak nor understand Berber.

As for Bu Sekkin, this probably corresponds to Buskan, which is the official name of this *rbaɛ* of the *žamaɛa* of Tadman. This is an entirely Arabophone *rbaɛ* according to all our informants. According to our information, there is no *duwwar* with the name Amṭiq. It has not been reported to us nor was it enlisted in the official list which contained all the *duwwar*.

Apart from these *duwwar* which are designated as Berberophone by Behnstedt, the map of Behnstedt suggests that almost the entire coast of Bni Buẓra is Arabophone. According to our information this is not the case. We have therefore adjusted the Berberophone area on this account as well (see Appendix IV/map 3).

Future perspective of Ghomara Berber

Our findings based on our fieldwork confirm that the *žamaɛa* of Bni Buẓra and Bni Menṣur are still the only two Berber speaking *žamaɛa* in Ghomara as we have mentioned. The number of speakers of about 10.000 speakers indicates that this language is not yet extinct.[35] It is perhaps on the edge as Behnstedt reported.[36] However, there are other indications that Ghomara Berber is not even on the edge. One of these indications is that not only elderly women or elderly in general speak Ghomara Berber but also children.

Children learn this language at home. Even in Bu Aḥmed, we found a 10 year old boy, Muhammad, who was able to speak and understand Berber and who was able to translate all the stories of Colin[37] that we read to him in order to assess his ability to understand Berber. Muhammad is the cousin of our main informant Muhammad Hudda and he lives with his parents in the centre of Bu Aḥmed. His father, Husayn, has a shop in which he sells small agricultural goods. He speaks Berber as well. When the family and friends sit together they speak MA with some Berber unless there is someone else who only speaks MA then the entire conversation is in MA. It must be said that they turn to MA very often and that Berber is mostly used for every day and simple phrases.

Husayn speaks MA to his son Muhammad. Based on this we concluded that his mother or other relatives speak Berber with him. Most of the children with whom he goes to school in Bu Aḥmed are Arabophone so apart from his family he would not have much people to speak Berber with. Little Muhammad explained to us that he does not often go to Bni Buẓra where the rest of his family lives.

[35] Cf. Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe', p. 10.
[36] Id.
[37] Colin, 'Le parler berbère', pp. 52-58.

Instead, they come to Bu Aḥmed. Like his uncle Muhammad Hudda who comes to the market every week. During summer holidays little Muhammad goes to see his family in Bni Buẓra. There he can talk Berber to virtually everybody since the *duwwar* of Σamṭiqan is entirely Berber speaking.

The fact that the linguistic enclave of Ghomara has endured for so long raises the question about the factors, which have promoted Berber in this particular area and MA in the surrounding areas. There are various explanations for this phenomenon. Colin gives a geographical and economical explanation. The area of Ghomara is located within a triangle of trade routes: from Fès in the South to Tétouan in the East and to Bades in the West and from Tétouan in the West to Bades in the East. The reason for the deviation of the trade routes from Fès to the Mediterranean Sea is that the area of Ghomara is virtually impassable.[38] Colin states that the remoteness of the North-South arteries have promoted the Arabisation of the mountain dwellers of Ghomara leaving the linguistic enclave in the centre intact. In addition, the linguistic enclave has survived because it was too far from the trade route running from Tétouan to Bades according to Colin. [39]

Nowadays mobility has improved very much due to motorized transportation and the improvement of roads. As we have seen, the mountainous areas of Bni Buẓra and Bni Menṣur can be reached by auto buses, which commute between Bu Aḥmed and these areas. Bu Aḥmed on its turn has good roads to Tétouan and Chefchaouen and from Bu Aḥmed one can take a taxi to one of these cities. Because generally communication lines promote linguistic innovations, we expect that the situation will change and that Bni Buẓra and Bni Menṣur will become Arabophone in the future. These communication lines do not only promote occasional and non-committal contact between Arabophone and Berberophone people but also promote durable contact through marriage. Furthermore, the introduction of electricity, which will lead to the use of modern media and the advancement of the educational system will probably further promote the use of MA in favour of Ghomara Berber.[40] This is yet another reason for us to make this grammatical survey, which will give us insight in this language, which will probably become extinct in future.

[38] Colin, 'Le parler berbère', p. 50.
[39] Id.
[40] Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe', p. 6.

TRANSCRIPTION

We will employ the transcription generally used in Berber linguistics. We have listed the differences between the latter and the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) in the table below.

Table 001. Transcription

	IPA	Transcription
Pharyngealized dentals	tˤ	ṭ
	dˤ	ḍ
Pharyngealized alveolars	sˤ	ṣ
	zˤ	ẓ
Palatals	ʃ	š
	ʒ	ž
Pharyngeals	ħ	ḥ
	ʕ	ɛ
Glottals	ʔ	’

The three vowels in Ghomara Berber (*i*, *u* and *a*) are not transcribed according to the IPA but according to the transcription generally employed by Berber linguists. We will write schwa as ‘e’ because we have not investigated the phonemic status of schwa (see I/2.1.).

As for toponyms, we will employ the official usage. If the official usage is only available in Arabic or Ghomara Berber, we will write the toponyms phonetically. In the case of phonetically written toponyms, we will use the capitals shown in table 002. We will employ these capitals also in certain proper names (in the case of quotation) and in the wordlist.

Table 002. Capitals

	Lower case	Capital
Dentals	θ	Θ
	δ	Δ
Velars	γ	Γ
Pharyngeals	ε	Σ

I. PHONOLOGY

In this section we will briefly discuss the main subjects of the phonology of Ghomara Berber. First we will discuss the consonants in which special attention will be given to the phenomenon of weakening. We will not discuss the vowels extensively and the same goes for schwa. Finally, we will briefly discuss and give examples of assimilation and vowel sequences in Ghomara Berber. The purpose is to give a brief indication and understanding of phonological aspects of Ghomara Berber and to give insight in the phonological characteristics of Ghomara Berber.

1. Consonants

In the following table we will present the consonants and semi-vowels, which we can distinguish in Ghomara Berber.

Table 003. Consonants and semi-vowels

	labials	**dentals**	**pharyngealized dentals**	**alveolars**	**pharyngealized alveolars**	**palatals**	**velars**	**labialized velars**	**palatalized velars**	**uvulars**	**pharyngeals**	**glottals**
plosives		t	ṭ				k	k^w		q		’
	b	d	ḍ				g	g^w	g^j			
fricatives	f	θ		s	ṣ	š	ç			x	ḥ	
	β	δ		z	ẓ	ž	γ				ɛ	
nasals	m			n								
vibrants				r								
laterals				l								
glides							y			w		h

Not all the consonants presented have phonemic status, but to give a total view we have listed them here anyway. In paragraph 1.2. of this section we will discuss the phonemic status of some of these consonants, namely the weakened consonants.

1.1. Weakening

In this section we will discuss the process of weakening of plosives. We have found several degrees of weakening of different categories of plosives in our corpus. As shown in the table below spirantization is the most common type of weakening. The plosives *t, d, k* and *b* can become the spirants *θ, δ, ç* and *β* as a result of spirantization.

The velar plosive *g* can be palatalized. We have incorporated this process of palatalization in this section because we consider palatalization to have a weakening effect on the plosive. Palatalization of *g* is therefore considered to be a process towards becoming palatal glide *y*, which is ultimately a form of weakening.

Table 004. Weakening of consonants

	plosives		**spirantized**		**debuccalized**		**elided**
dentals	t	→	θ	→	h	→	ø
	d	→	δ				
velars	k	→	ç	→	h		
	g	→	g^j				
labials	b	→	β				

There are two plosives, *t* and *k*, which can undergo a larger degree of weakening. The result of this process, which we will refer to as debuccalization, is that the spirant becomes the glottal glide *h*. The plosives *t* and *k*, which as we have seen can become the spirants *θ* and *ç*, can also become *h* in certain cases.

Finally, an interesting form of weakening referred to as elision can be found in Ghomara Berber. This process is the final result of weakening of the dental plosive *t* and results in the elision of the original *t* or

one of its weakened variants *θ* and *h*. This process appears in different cases. We will discuss the distribution of these processes of weakening in the following sections.

1.1.1. Weakening of *t*

We have seen that dental plosive *t* can be spirantized, debuccalized or elided. We will view some examples of these processes and we will discuss the distribution whenever possible on the basis of our corpus.

1.1.1.1. Spirantization of *t*

The most evident expression of spirantization of *t* is the spirantization of the feminine plural suffix of MA nouns (*-at*). This form of spirantization does not depend on the position of *t*. On the basis of our material we conclude that feminine plural nouns, which have been borrowed from MA and originally have suffix *-at*, obtain suffix *-aθ* as a result of spirantization.

t → θ

**mṭirqat*	→	*mṭirqaθ*	“hammers”
**ssaɛat*	→	*ssaɛaθ*	“hours”
**lḥilat*	→	*lḥilaθ*	“tricks”
**lmerrat*	→	*lmerraθ*	“times”

The prefix of the feminine singular noun can also be subject to spirantization as the following example shows.

t → θ

**išebbr as taẓellit*	→	*išebbr as θaẓellit*	“he grabbed his tail”

Another example of spirantization of *t* is found in the verbal suffix of the third person feminine singular, which can become spirantized as the following examples show.

t → θ

**tṣebben*	→	*θṣebben*	“she washed”
**nettaθa tssebzag as*	→	*nettaθa θssebzag as*	“she made it wet for him”
**niga teẓra hadik*	→	*niga θeẓra hadik*	“when she saw this”

Another evident form of spirantization of *t* can be found in the postverbal clitic of the third person plural of the direct object (*ten*). As we will see in the following paragraph this clitic may also be debuccalized. On the basis of the examples that we have it is not possible to say something about the distribution.

t → θ

**a tellax ten*	→	*a tellax θen*	“I will watch them”
**baqa ten*	→	*baqa θen*	“it remained”

The characteristic suffix of the feminine singular noun in MA is *-a*. This suffix becomes suffix *-aθ* in come cases. One may argue that this is the remains of the Moroccan pre-genitive *-at* (or *-et*).[41] In that case *-at* has become *-aθ* as a result of spirantization (see II/2.2.2.).

…-a → …-aθ

**lefɛa*	→	*lefɛaθ*	“the, an adder”
**lqaɛa*	→	*lqaɛaθ*	“the, an event”

1.1.1.2. Debuccalization of *t*

The first example of debuccalization of *t* is the postverbal clitic of the third person plural of the direct object (*ten*). Based on the following examples the distribution seems to be that after a preceding sequel of two consonants or a geminate consonant a vowel *a* is inserted (for reasons of syllabification) followed by the debuccalized postverbal clitic.

[41] Cf. M. Kossmann, ‘On parallel morphological systems due to the borrowing of non-native paradigms’ (forthcoming).

t → h

**issnaten*	→	*issnahen*	“he knows them”
**leḥšam nnes ikemlaten*	→	*leḥšam nnes ikemlahen*	“he finished her children”
**itettaten*	→	*itettahen*	“he is eating them”
**teggaten fi želdan*	→	*teggahen fi želdan*	“she put it on that leather”

The second example of debuccalization of *t* is the verbal prefix of the second person singular (*t*-).

t → h

*šw*a ra tzenzet*	→	*šwa ra hzenzet*	“what will you sell?”
**ana teṭṭset*	→	*ana hṭṭset*	“where did you sleep?”
**liyaš a ttrut a taɛeyyalt*	→	*liyaš a httrut a taɛeyyalt*	“why are you crying little girl?”
**amça trzet šebbaç*	→	*amça hrzet šebbaç*	“how did you break the window?”
**ana ṭṭset llila n watg^{j}am*	→	*ana hṭṭset llila n watg^{j}am*	“where did you sleep last night?”

The third example of debuccalization of *t* is the verbal prefix of the third person feminine singular (*t*-).

t → h

**ma tqqim as ḥetta ḥila*	→	*ma hqqim as ḥetta ḥila*	“he did not even have a single trick left”
**ma txeddam alek ši*	→	*ma hxeddam alek ši*	“it does not work for you”
**nettaθa ma tell ši muqqreθ*	→	*nettaθa ma hell ši muqqreθ*	“she was not big”
**tdebbar*	→	*hdebbar*	“she arranged”

Finally we have found an example of debuccalization in which *yat* “one” becomes *yah* as a result of debuccalization.

t → h

**yat lmerra*	→	*yah lmerra*	“one time”

1.1.1.3. Elision of *t*

There are several examples of the elision of *t*. The first is the verbal prefix of the second person singular (*t*-).

****t* → ø**

**xemmen a tsawlet*	→	*xemmen a sawlet*	“what are you talking about?”
**ara tebbet*	→	*ara bbet*	“you will take”
**fhayweç ša tmelçet*	→	*fhayweç ša melçet*	“when will you marry?”
**a terzet*	→	*a rzet*	“that you broke”

Another example of elision is the verbal prefix of the third person feminine singular (*t*-). We only have examples with the verb *ddu* “go”. The distribution is not clear because in comparable situations elision does not take place.

****t* → ø**

**hewa tedda d lqniyya*	→	*hewa dda d lqniyya*	“well the rabbit came”
**tedda fḥala*	→	*dda fḥala*	“she went on her way”

The same goes for the verbal prefix of the second person plural (*t*-). Likewise we only have examples in which elision takes place in the context of the verb *ddu* “go”.

****t* → ø**

**ša teddum*	→	*ša ddum*	“you will go”
**layn ša teddum*	→	*layn ša ddum*	“where are you (p.) going?”
**a teddum s eldžri*	→	*a ddum s eldžri*	“you (p.) will run fast”

1.1.2. Weakening of *d*

The following nouns are Arabic loans in which *d* is spirantized. This category constitutes a group of nouns in which spirantization is evident when the Berber nouns are compared to the corresponding MA nouns. We have found examples in which spirantization of an initial *d* or medial *d* takes place. But there are no nouns in which a final *d* has become spirantized. This leads to the conclusion that spirantization of *d* only takes place in initial and medial position.

d* → *ð

**adem*	→	*aðem*	"blood"
**kedba*	→	*keðba*	"lie"
**qdim*	→	*qðim*	"old"
**ddat*	→	*ððat*	"body"

1.1.3. Weakening of *k*

Weakening of *k* is twofold namely spirantization and debuccalization. We will discuss both types on the basis of the view examples we have found.

1.1.3.1. Spirantization of *k*

The second person singular masculine of the prepositional suffix (*k*-) is spirantized in most cases. The case of *ɣar k* "you have" seems to be one of the few exceptions to this.

k* → *ç

**zg ak*	→	*zg aç*	"from you"
**daɣr ek*	→	*daɣr eç*	"to you"

The second person singular masculine of the possessive suffix *nnek* becomes *nneç* in most cases as a result of spirantization. This is not always the case (see Text 4/024.).

k → ç

**ameddakul nnek*	→	*ameddakul nneç*	“your friend”
**taẓellit ennek*	→	*taẓellit enneç*	“your tail”

The following examples of Arabic loans attest to the fact that *k* can become spirantized, they also attest to the fact that spirantization may occur in any position.

k → ç

**ktar*	→	*çtar*	“more”
**ddkar*	→	*ddçar*	“male”
**ššebbak*	→	*ššebbaç*	“window”
**nekmel*	→	*neçmel*	“we finished”

1.1.3.2. Debuccalization of *k*

Debuccalization of *k* does not occur very often. The Arabic verb *štarek* “cooperate” is used in Ghomara Berber with a debuccalized *k* as shown in the following example.

k → h

**nšterku*	→	*nšterhu*	“we will cooperate”

Other examples of debuccalization are the pronouns of the first person plural and the third person plural they occur with *ç* and with *h*.

ç → h

**nuçna*	→	*nuhna*	“we”
**niçma*	→	*nihma*	“they”

1.1.4. Weakening of *g*

Even though it is not difficult to make a distinction between *g* and g^j, distribution of this process seems to be less clear since there are comparable sequences in which *g* is not palatalized.

***g* → g^j**

**agdi*	→	*ag^{j}di*[42]	"jackal"
**agenna*	→	*ag^{j}enna*	"sky"
**ager*	→	*ag^{j}er*	"unit of measurement"
**argaz*	→	*arg^{j}az*	"man"
**atgam*	→	*atg^{j}am*	"yesterday"
**tagiget*	→	*tag^{j}ig^{j}et*	"tree"

1.1.5. Weakening of *b*

Spirantization of *b* is very rare in Ghomara Berber as we have come across this only once. It is therefore impossible to make suggestions about distribution.

b* → *ß

**ibawen*	→	*ißawen*	"beans"

1.2. Phonemic status of weakened consonants

In the following paragraphs we will discuss the phonemic status of the weakened consonants, which we have discussed in the previous paragraphs.

[42] In Bni Menṣur the weakening of *g* has resulted in *y* in some cases, for example *ayyerṭ* (*agarṭ*) "neck" and *ayṭid* (*agṭid*) "bird".

1.2.1. Phonemic distinction between *t* and *θ*

In Ghomara Berber *t* and *θ* are distinct phonemes. This is shown by the third singular person of the direct object.

θ* ↔ *t

issnaθ	he knows him	↔	*issnat*	"he knows her"

1.2.2. Phonemic distinction between *d* and *δ*

In Ghomara Berber *d* and *δ* are distinct phonemes. This is shown by the following minimal pair.

δ* ↔ *d

δδat	body	↔	*ddat*	"you went"

1.2.3. Phonemic distinction between *ṣ* and *ç*

There is phonemic distinction between *ṣ* and *ç*. The following example attests to this.

š* ↔ *ç

ddšar	village	↔	*ddçar*	"male"

1.2.4. Phonemic distinction between *g* and g^j

There is no phonemic distinction between *g* and g^j based on our corpus.

1.2.5. Phonemic distinction between *b* and *β*

There is no phonemic distinction between *b* and *β*. Spirant *β* is only found in the example of *iβawen* in our corpus. It is therefore not possible to draw definite conclusions about the phonemic distribution on the basis of this single example.

2. Vowels

In the following table we will present the vowels that we can distinguish as phonemic vowels in Ghomara Berber. Note that schwa is not presented in this table. We will discuss the phonemic status of schwa in paragraph 2.1.

Table 005. Vowels

	front	**central**	**back**
close	i		u
mid			
open		a	

2.1. Phonemic status of schwa

On the basis of our corpus it is hardly possible to discuss the phonemic status of schwa in Ghomara Berber. Nevertheless an interesting minimal pair should be pointed out in which schwa seems to have a phonemic status. Several informants made a clear difference between *alf* (thousand) and *alef* (swine). While this example is interesting in itself and schwa represents an interesting subject in Berber linguistics in general, we will not discuss the phonemic status of schwa. The phonemic status of schwa is thus not part of the scope of this thesis. The same goes for syllabification. Instead we will concentrate on morphology and syntax. In the following we will write schwa as ‘e’. Thus schwa will be approached not in a phonological but rather in a phonetic manner.

3. Assimilation

In Ghomara Berber there are a number of cases of assimilation which we will present here. We will briefly discuss these cases of assimilation on the basis of the examples we have found during our research.

3.1. Assimilation of *yan* "one"

Assimilation of *yan* "one" (see II/5.1.1. and 5.2.) takes place in two situations. The first situation is before a masculine noun with prefix *u-* in the état d'annexion, the state of nouns following *yan* (see II/3.3.2.). In this case *yan* becomes *ya*. In the second situation *yan* assimilates to the Arabic definite article *l* (see II/2.2.1.). In this case *yan* becomes *yal*.

yan + u → ya

**yan uɛeyyal*	→	*ya wɛeyyal*	"a little boy"

yan + l → yal

**yan lbaṭil*	→	*yal lbaṭil*	"a boat"

3.2. Assimilation of *n* "of"

The genitive preposition *n* "of" (see V/1.3.) assimilates to the Arabic definite article *l*.

n + l → l

**lbaɛḍ n lmedden*	→	*lbaɛḍ l lmedden*	"some people"
**lebɛaḍ n lmasa'il*	→	*lebɛaḍ l lmasa'il*	"some matters"
**lfakiha n lmul*	→	*lfakiha l lmul*	"fruit of the owner"

The following example is possibly an example of a fixed expression borrowed from MA without the prepositional *n*. It can very well be the case that the prepositional *n* has undergone assimilation since this construction with the prepositional *n* is also known in other Riffian languages.[43]

**nnhar n larbeɛ*	→	*nnhar l larbeɛ*	"wednesday"

3.3. Assimilation of *kull* "all"

The quantifier *kull* "all" (see II/5.3.1.) assimilates to the consonant *n* and therefore becomes *kun* as we can see in the following examples.

kull + n → kun

**kull nnhar*	→	*kun nnhar*	"every day"
**kull na*	→	*kun na*	"all of us"

3.4. Assimilation of indirect object third person *as*

A rare example of assimilation of the third person of the indirect object *s* is the assimilation to *d* "hither".

s + d → z d

**ibb as d*	→	*ibb az d*	"he got for him"

3.5. Assimilation of imperative plural suffix *awθ*

Another example of assimilation to *d* "hither" is the assimilation of the plural imperative suffix *awθ* (see III/1.2) to *d* "hither". The result is that it becomes *aw d.*

[43] Bni Touzine: *nha n rabeɛ* "Wednesday". Based on the author's own knowledge of Tarifiyt spoken in Bni Touzine.

θ + d → d

**bbawθ d*	→	*bbaw d*	“bring here (p.)!”
**kešmawθ d*	→	*kešmaw d*	“come inside (p.)!”

4. Sequences of two vowels

The following examples of sequences of two vowels show that these sequences either generate the insertion of the semi-vowel *y*, the change of the vowel *i* into the semi-vowel *y* or the elision of the vowel *i*.

a + a → a ya

**ḥetta afex*	→	*ḥetta yafex*	“until I find”
**lmerra ad*	→	*lmerra yad*	“this time”
**ma aγn išš*	→	*ma yaγn išš*	“he will not eat us”

a + i → a y

**netta iqqim*	→	*netta yqqim*	“he stayed”
**ška illan*	→	*ška yllan*	“who is”
**a ittuθu*	→	*a yttuθu*	“that he is going”

a + i → a

**a iddu*	→	*a ddu*	that he goes
**ara iddu*	→	*ara ddu*	he will go

i + a → ya

**γenniawθ*	→	*γennyawθ*	“sing (p.)!”
**iara*	→	*yara*	“he writes”

i + a → a

**ani ahṭṭset*	→	*an ahṭṭset*	“where did you sleep?”

An interesting phenomenon in Ghomara Berber is the insertion of the consonant *θ* between the first person of the direct object in preverbal position *ay-* and the verbal prefix of the third person masculine *i-*. The following examples attest to this.

y + i → yθ i

**ša y iwweθ*	→	*ša yθ iwweθ*	he will hit me
**ša y iberreḥ*	→	*ša yθ iberreḥ*	he will call me

II. NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

1. Nouns

In this paragraph we will discuss the nouns in Ghomara Berber. We will first look at the singular nouns. The masculine and feminine singular nouns can be distinguished by different sets of suffixes, which we will discuss in subparagraph 1.1.

As for the plural nouns, they are (usually) derived from the corresponding singular nouns by means of suffixation or ablaut patterns. We will discuss the formation of plural nouns in subparagraph 1.2.

In subparagraph 1.3. we will discuss a group of feminine nouns with a special function regarding collective nouns, diminutive nouns, augmentative nouns and dendronyms. Finally, we will discuss a small group of pairs of masculine and feminine nouns that are not semantically distinct.

1.1. Singular nouns

1.1.1. Masculine singular nouns

Masculine singular nouns in Ghomara Berber have either the prefix *a-*, *i-* or *u-*. We will give some examples of this. Since our corpus does not contain many examples of nouns with the prefix *i-* and *u-* we will present all the nouns with these prefixes.

a-…

aserdun	“mule”
arg^{j}az	“man”
aɛeyyal	“child”

i-…

iles	“tongue”
inši	“person”
izi	“fly”

u-…

ul	“heart”
uleθma	“sister”

1.1.2. Feminine singular nouns

While the most common prefix of the masculine singular noun is *a-*, in the case of the feminine singular noun the most common circumfix is *ta-…-t*. A substantially smaller group of feminine singular nouns has the circumfix *ti-…-t*. Finally, we can distinguish a group of feminine singular nouns that have the circumfix *ta-…-a*. Since we have few examples of the two latter circumfixes, we will present all the examples of these types.

ta-…-t

taserdunt	“female mule”
tarbat	“girl”
targat	“dream”

ti-…-t

tiṭṭ	“eye”
tizit	“mosquito”

ta-…-a

tagra	“plate”
tameɣra	“wedding”
tamzgida	“mosque”
tasa	“cow”
tamuda	“pig”
tazga	“forest”

tazizwa “bee”

1.2. Plural nouns

In this subparagraph, we will discuss the plural formation of masculine and feminine plural nouns. The formation of plural nouns based on the singular nouns is twofold: suffix plural formation and apophonic plural formation. We will discuss both forms and their different subtypes.

1.2.1. Masculine plural nouns

Masculine plural nouns have the circumfix *i-…-en* or *i-…-an*. The extended base has the circumfix *i-…-awen.* The apophonic plural has the prefix *i-* while the absence of a suffix is characteristic for apophonic masculine plural nouns.

i-…-en

singular	**plural**	
agurnas	*igurnasen*	“lions”
arg^{j}az	*irg^{j}azen*	“men”
ašnekkaf	*išnekkafen*	“hedgehogs”

i-…-an

aṭuḍ	*iṭuḍan*	“fingers”
açmez	*içemzan*	“nails”
azref	*izerfan*	“roads”

i-…-awen

aɣef	*iɣfawen*	“heads”
agerṭ	*igerṭawen*	“necks”

i-…

agelzim	*igelzam*	“pickaxes”
amenžur	*imenžar*	“chairs”
agṭiḍ	*igṭaḍ*	“birds”

1.2.1.1. Suffix plural formation

1.2.1.1.1. Non-extended base

Masculine plural nouns are based on the masculine singular nouns. Suffix plural formation is accomplished by the change of prefix *a-* into *i-* (or retaining *i-*) and suffixation of *-en* to the base of the masculine singular noun.

a-… → i-…-en

singular	**plural**	
açidar	*içidaren*	“horses”
aṭar	*iṭaren*	“legs”
agurnas	*igurnasen*	“lions”

i-… → i-…-en

iles	*ilsen*	“tongues”

a-… → i-…-an

aɣess	*iɣessan*	“bones”
aṭuḍ	*iṭuḍan*	“fingers”
azref	*izerfan*	“roads”

1.2.1.1.2. Extended base

In the case of an extended base, the base of the masculine singular noun is extended to *aw* as part of the plural formation. The plural suffix *-en* is combined with this extension resulting in the suffix *-awen*.

a-… → i-…-awen

singular	**plural**	
aɣef	*iɣfawen*	“heads”
agerṭ	*igerṭawen*	“necks”

1.2.1.1.3. Vowel change

In addition to suffixation, the base can undergo vowel change in plural formation. The suffix in this case is *-an*.

aCaC → iCuCan

singular	**plural**	
aẓar	*iẓuran*	“roots”

1.2.1.1.4. Gemination and vowel change

In some cases, suffix plural formation is accomplished by gemination of a consonant in the base in addition to vowel change in the base. In these cases the suffix is *-en*.

aCuC → iCaĈen

singular	**plural**	
afud	*ifadden*	“feet”
afus	*ifassen*	“hands”

aCiC → iCaĈen

asif	*isaffen*	“rivers”
aɣil	*iɣallen*	“mountains”

1.2.1.1.5. Elision of final vowel

In a few cases the base of the masculine singular noun has a final vowel, which is elided in the process of plural formation. The suffix in this case is *-an.*

a-…-i → i-…-an

singular	**plural**	
asli	*islan*	“grooms”
aẓru	*iẓran*	“stones”

i-…-i → i-…-an

izi	*izan*	“flies”

1.2.1.2. Apophonic plural formation

The second type of plural formation does not only involve prefixation (*i-*) but is characterized by vowel change in the base as well; the so called apophonic plural formation. The prefix *i-* and the change of one or more vowels in the base constitute the plural. The absence of a suffix is characteristic to apophonic plural formation while vowel change also takes place in the case of suffix plural formation as we have seen.

a-…-u-… → i-…-a-…

singular	**plural**	
amenžur	*imenžar*	“chairs”
aferruš	*iferraš*	“cocks”
aqemmum	*iqemmam*	“mouths”

a-…-i-… → i-…-a-…

agṭiḍ	*igṭaḍ*	“birds”
agelzim	*igelzam*	“pickaxes”

a-…-a-… → i-…-u-…

amaras	*imuras*	“valleys”

a-…-a-…-u-… → i-…-u-…-a-…

ašaqur	*išuqar*	“axes”

a-…-u-… → i-…-u-..-a-…

aɣyul	*iɣuyal*	“donkeys”

The following examples of apophonic plural nouns have an extended base in the plural. The base is extended with vowel *a* as part of the plural formation. The result is a final *a* in the plural, which cannot be considered to be a suffix but rather an extension of the base.

a-…-a-… → i-…-i-…-a

aθebban	*iθebbina*	“trousers”
aḥettaš	*iḥettiša*	“hatchets”

1.2.2. Feminine plural nouns

The circumfix of feminine plural nouns is *ti-…-an.*[44] This is characteristic for Ghomara Berber since the common (non-extended) circumfix in Tashelhiyt[45], Tamazight[46] as well as in Tarifiyt[47] is *ti-…-in.* The

[44] Note that some feminine plural nouns have an alternate prefix in which *t* is elided. The circumfix thus becomes *i-…-an,* e.g.: *tabrat - tibratan*/*ibratan* “letter”, *tafuzart - tifuzaran*/*ifuzaran* “ant”, *taẓellit - iẓellitan* “tail”.
[45] Cf. Van den Boogert, *Tashelhiyt Berber of South Morocco,* p. 5.
[46] Cf. P. Bisson, *Leçons de Berbère Tamazight: dialecte des Aït Ndhir (Aït Nâaman)* (Rabat: Moncho, 1940), p. 50.

feminine plural noun is formed on the basis of the base of the feminine singular noun. There are three types of extended bases: *t*, *w* and *iw*. These extended bases constitute the following circumfixes for the feminine plural nouns: *ti-…-tan*, *ti-…-wan* and *ti-…-iwan*. The apophonic feminine plural has prefix *t-* and no suffix.

ti-…-an

singular	**plural**	
taɛeyyalt	*tiɛiyyalan*	"little girls"
taxuraft	*tixurafan*	"fables"
tagnawt	*tignawan*	"pumpkins"

ti-…-tan

tarbat	*tirbatan*	"girls"
tabrat	*tibratan*	"letters"
taslat	*tislatan*	"brides"

ti-…-wan

tagra	*tigerwan*	"plates"
tiṭṭ	*tiṭṭawan*	"eyes"

ti-…-iwan

tameɣra	*timeɣriwan*	"weddings"
tamzgida	*timzgidiwan*	"mosques"

ti-…

tazizwa	*tizizwa*	"bees"

[47] Cf. Kossmann, *Grammaire du parler berbère*, p. 79.

tazɣult	*tizɣal*	“spoons”

1.2.2.1. Suffix plural formation

1.2.2.1.1. Non-extended base

The non-extended base is the simplest form of plural formation based on the base of the feminine singular noun. In this case the prefix of the feminine singular noun *ta-* becomes *ti-* (or remains *ti-*) and the suffix *-an* is added to the base to form the plural. The following examples illustrate this.

ta-…-t → ti-…-an

tagnawt	*tignawan*	“pumpkins”
taxuraft	*tixurafan*	“fables”
taserdunt	*tiserdunan*	“female mules”

1.2.2.1.2. Extended base

As we have mentioned the extended bases of the feminine singular noun result in three different circumfixes for the feminine plural nouns: *ti-…-tan, ti-…-wan* and *ti-…-iwan.*

ta-…-t → ti-…-tan

tasendut	*tisendutan*	“butters”
taslat	*tislatan*	“brides”
tarbat	*tirbatan*	“girls”

ta-…-a → ti-…-wan

tagra	*tigerwan*	“plates”

ti-… → ti-…-wan

tiṭṭ	*tiṭṭawan*	“eyes”

ta-…-a → ti-…-iwan

tameγra	*timeγriwan*	“weddings”
tamzgida	*timzgidiwan*	“mosques”

1.2.2.1.3. Gemination and vowel insertion

In a few cases additional processes are used for the formation of the feminine plural noun. In the following example, gemination and vowel insertion are part of the plural formation in addition to affixation (*ti-…-an*).

taCCa → tiCuĈan

tazga	*tizuggan*	“forests”

1.2.2.2. Apophonic plural formation

Apophonic plural formation of the feminine plural noun is rare. In this case prefix *ta-* of the singular feminine noun becomes *ti-* and a vowel in the base of the feminine singular noun is changed to form the feminine plural noun.

taCiCCa → tiCiCCa

tazizwa	*tizizwa*	“bees”

In the example below the suffix of the feminine singular noun *-t* is lost in the formation of the plural noun.

taCCuCt → tiCCaC

tazɣult *tizɣal* "spoons"

1.3. Other functions of feminine nouns

1.3.1. Semantic distinctive pairs

In this subparagraph, we will discuss a group of feminine nouns that have a special function. Feminine nouns are used as unit nouns derived from collective nouns, which are mainly composed of Arabic loans. Feminine nouns are also used to designate diminutive nouns derived from masculine nouns, which constitute the root meaning from which the diminutive meaning is derived. In other cases, the feminine noun itself constitutes the root meaning while the masculine noun has an augmentative function. Furthermore, feminine nouns are also used as dendronyms. Finally, we have found a few interesting pairs of masculine-feminine nouns, which are not semantically distinct according to our informants. People use them interchangeably.

1.3.1.1. Collective nouns

In Ghomara Berber there are a number of unit nouns, which consist of feminine singular nouns with the circumfix *ta-…-t*. These unit nouns are derived from MA collective nouns. The plural of these unit nouns consists of feminine plural nouns derived from the unit noun with the circumfix *ti-…-an*.

collective noun	**unit noun**	**plural**	
llawz	*talawzet*	*tilawzan*	"almonds"
lfiras	*tafirast*	*tifirasan*	"pears"
letšin	*taletšint*	*tiletšinan*	"oranges"
lebṣal	*tabṣelt*	*tibeṣlan*	"onions"
tteffaḥ	*teffaḥt*[48]	*teffaḥan*	"apples"

[48] Note that the feminine prefix *ta-* is lost because the collective noun *tteffaħ* has an initial *t*. This is also shown by the plural, which lacks the prefix *ti-*.

Some collective nouns do not have a corresponding unit noun nor a plural of the unit noun. To express unity quantifiers like *taquqet* "granule", *taqurraɛt* "bulb", *aδiyyar* "piece" or *tanuqqit* "drop" are used. These quantifiers are connected by means of the genitive preposition *n* "of" to the collective noun.

***taquqet* "granule"**

collective noun	**unit noun**	**plural**	
irden	*taquqet n irden*	*tiquqan n irden*	"wheat"
lubya	*taquqet l lubya*	*tiquqan l lubya*	"beans"
leɛṭes	*taquqet l leɛṭes*	*tiquqan l leɛṭes*	"lentils"
ddra	*taquqet n ddra*	*tiquqan n ddra*	"corn"

***taqurraɛt* "bulb"**

tiskert	*taqurraɛt n tiskert*	*tiqurraɛan n tiskert*	"garlic"
lebṣal	*taqurraɛt l lebṣal*	*tiqurraɛan l lebṣal*	"onions"

***aδiyyar* "piece"**

aṭil	*aδiyyar n waṭil*	*iδiyyaren n waṭil*	"grapes"

***tanuqqit* "drop"**

aman	*tanuqqit n waman*	*tinuqqitan n waman*	"water"

In general collective nouns act as singular nouns as the following examples show.

lxuḍra terka	"the vegetables are rotten"
lfakiha ša t açuren	"fruit, they will steal it"

The collective noun *aman* "water" is an exception to this rule. This collective noun acts as a plural noun as the following examples shows.[49]

[49] Cf. Colin, 'Le parler berbère', Text II, pp. 52-53.

θssebzag as aman nettaθa teggahen fi želdan	"she wetted (for) him with water, she poured it on that skin"
netta ša ddu dar lbirahen a yillan gas aman bardin	"he will go to that well with cold water"

1.3.1.2. Diminutive nouns

As we have seen the feminine noun is not only used to express gender but also to express unity. In this paragraph, we will discuss a different opposition between feminine and masculine nouns in Ghomara Berber namely the opposition between the root meaning and the diminutive. In the following examples, the feminine singular noun expresses the diminutive.

root	**diminutive**	
asif	*tasift*	"small river"
ašaqur	*tašaqurt*	"small axe"
agelzim	*tagelzimt*	"small pickaxe"
aḥettaš	*taḥettašt*	"small hatchet"

1.3.1.3. Augmentative nouns

Feminine singular nouns may also express the root meaning while the masculine singular noun expresses the augmentative. The only example we have found is the following.

root	**augmentative**	
taɛeddist	*aɛeddis*	"(very) large belly"

1.3.1.4. Dendronyms

Feminine nouns are also used to designate trees.

tazart[50]	"fig tree"

[50] This noun is not only used to refer to the fig tree but is also used as a collective noun to refer to the fruits of this tree, namely the figs.

tasnubart[51] "stone pine"

tasaft "chestnut"

1.3.2. Non-semantic distinctive pairs

The aforementioned functions of feminine nouns constitute a semantic opposition between the feminine noun and its masculine counterpart. In a few cases, there is no semantic opposition between the feminine and masculine nouns. Those nouns are used interchangeably without any semantic distinction.

root	**root**	
aẓru	*taẓrut*	"stone"
aṭelliḥ	*taṭelliḥt*	"forehead"

2. Non-affix nouns

Nouns in Ghomara Berber are either affix nouns or non-affix nouns. As we have seen affix nouns are composed of either a prefix, suffix or circumfix. Non-affix nouns can be divided into two categories namely Berber kinship terminology and Arabic loans. These Arabic loans form one of the manifestations of the influence of MA in Ghomara Berber. Arabic loans can also be incorporated in the Ghomara Berber nominal system. In that case, the former outline of the affixal system in Ghomara Berber is fully applicable.

2.1. Kinship terminology

The Berber non-affix nouns consists of a relatively small category of kinship terminology. We will present all the examples from our corpus.

ø-…

yemma "mother"

baba "father"

[51] The noun *tasnubart* is derived from the Arabic *ṣanawbar*.

2.2. Arabic loans

Most Arabic loans are subject to MA morphology. They can be used in combination with the definite article *l-* or the assimilated form in the case of dental consonants. This does not imply that these nouns have a definite meaning in all cases. This varies according to the context.

ma hqimm as ḥetta ḥila	"he did not even have a single trick left"
ɣari yal lḥila	"I have one trick"
isker lḥila i leḥšam n ɛammi nnes	"he used a trick on his cousins"

Indefinite marking can be achieved by the use of the indefinite article *yan*/*yat* while the Arabic definite article is preserved.

itɛawaδay yal lqiṣṣa	"he is telling me a story"
ša asibex yal lḥafa	"I will throw a stone"
aç tell g^{w}ammas l lebḥar yal lbaṭil	"there was a boat in the middle of the sea"

2.2.1. Masculine singular nouns

The following examples show that MA nouns can be used in their original form (i.e. as non-affix nouns). The MA nouns are used with the definite article (or the assimilated form) or without the indefinite article. The definite article has lost its function as a marker of the indefinite in Ghomara Berber. The following examples attest to this.

Nouns with definite article *l-*

lfuṭa	"the, a towel"
lžawb	"the, an answer"
lektab	"the, a book"

Nouns with assimilated definite article

nnhar	"the, a day"
ṣṣif	"the, a summer"
ttmar	"the, a date"

Nouns without definite article

usbuɛ	"the, a week"
ɛam	"the, a year"
ɛuzri	"the, a bachelor"

2.2.2. Feminine singular nouns

The characteristic suffix of the feminine singular noun in MA is *-a*. This suffix is retained in most cases of Arabic loans in Ghomara Berber. In other cases suffix *-a* becomes *-aθ*.[52]

…-a → …-a

MA		**Ghomara**	
lmešruba	→	*lmešruba*	"the, a drink"
lfuṭa	→	*lfuṭa*	"the, a towel"

****…-a → …-aθ***

**lefɛa*	→	*lefɛaθ*	"the, an adder"
**lqaɛa*	→	*lqaɛaθ*	"the, an event"

[52] See I/1.1.1. on the probable historical background of this phenomenon.

2.2.3. Plural nouns

Plural Arabic loans may correspond to the scheme of plural formation in MA. Plural nouns that have not been borrowed from MA can also be inflected according to that scheme. The following examples attest to this.

$R^1R^2aR^3eR^4$ → CCaCeC

MA pl.	**Ghomara pl.**	**Ghomara sg.**	
ddmalež	*ddmalež*	*ddemliž*	"(the) bracelets"
ṣṣbabeṭ	*ṣṣbabeṭ*	*ṣṣebbaṭ*	"(the) shoes"
lemḥažer	*lemḥažer*	*meḥžur*	"(the) orphans"
lehžažel	*lehžažel*	*hedžal*	"(the) widowers"

$R^1R^2uR^3$ → CCuC

MA pl.	**Ghomara pl.**	**Ghomara sg.**	
nnžum	*nnžum*	*nnežma*	"(the) stars"
lḥyuṭ	*lḥyuṭ*	*ḥayṭ*	"(the) walls"

R^1iR^2an → CiCaC

MA pl.	**Ghomara pl.**	**Ghomara sg.**	
lkiran	*lkiran*	*lkar*	"(the) busses"
lkisan	*lkisan*	*rkas*	"(the) glasses"
-	*lkiman*[53]	*kama*	"(the) beds"

One of the most common formations of the plural in MA is by means of the suffix *-at* (feminine plural formation). In the case of Arabic loans in Ghomara Berber this suffix becomes spirantized and thus becomes *-aθ* (see I/1.1.1.1.).

[53] Singular: *kama* (borrowed from Spanish: *cama*). It is not known to be used in MA according to our informants.

…-at → …-aθ

MA		**Ghomara**	
**mṭirqat*	→	*mṭirqaθ*	“(the) hammers”
**lḥilat*	→	*lḥilaθ*	“(the) tricks”
**ssaɛat*	→	*ssaɛaθ*	“(the) hours”
**ayyamat*	→	*ayyamaθ*	“(the) days”

3. État libre and état d’annexion

3.1. Masculine nouns

There are two different states in Ghomara Berber namely the état d’annexion and the état libre. We have thus far discussed the nouns in the état libre (or free state). In the état d’annexion the prefix of masculine nouns can change. The prefix *a-* becomes either *u-*, *wa-* or *ya-*, while the prefixes *i-* and *u-* do not change.

a-… → u-…

état libre		**état d’annexion**	
amenžur	→	*umenžur*	“chair”
arg^{j}az	→	*urg^{j}az*	“man”

a-… → wa-…

aṭil	→	*waṭil*	“grapes”
ammas	→	*wammas*	“middle”

a-… → ya-…

aɣil	→	*yaɣil*	“mountain”
agerṭ	→	*yagerṭ*	“neck”
ag^{j}er	→	*yag^{j}er*	“unit of measurement (Ar. *feddan*)”

i-… → i-…

iles	→	*iles*	“tongue”
island	→	*islan*	“grooms”

u-… → u-…

ul	→	*ul*	“heart”
uliyen	→	*uliyen*	“hearts”

3.2. Feminine nouns

The prefix of feminine nouns can also change in the état d’annexion. The prefix *ta-* becomes either *t-* or is not changed. The prefix *ti-* becomes *t-* or is not changed as well.

ta-… → t-…

état libre		**état d’annexion**	
tag^{j}ig^{j}et	→	*tg^{j}ig^{j}et*	“tree”
taɣaṭ	→	*tɣaṭ*	“goat”

ta-… → ta-…

taδunt	→	*taδunt*	“fat”
tayt	→	*tayt*	“shoulder”[54]

ti-… → t-…

timɣaran	→	*tmɣaran*	“women”
tixenfuran	→	*txenfuran*	“noses”

[54] In Tashelhiyt ‘armpit’ is referred to as *ddu tayt* while *tayt* is not used for shoulder (H. Stroomer).

ti-… → ti-…

tiskert	→	*tiskert*	"garlic"
tizit	→	*tizit*	"mosquito"

3.3. Use of état d'annexion

Another characteristic of Ghomara Berber is the limited use of the état d'annexion. The état d'annexion is used after prepositions and *yan/yat* "one" only. It is not used for subjects in postverbal position. The following examples have been taken from texts, which are presented in the section Texts. The numbers behind the examples refer to the text and the number of the line in the text.

inna s ag^{j}di	"the jackal said to him"	1/001
idda d ašnekkaf	"the hedgehog came"	1/009
ttuθu d tamuda	"the pig was coming"	2/014

3.3.1 Use of état d'annexion after prepositions

The état d'annexion is used for nouns following prepositions. It is not clear whether this is also the case with borrowed prepositions. The sentences with examples of these borrowed prepositions do not allow us to draw conclusions on the use of the état d'annexion (V/3.).

état libre	**état d'annexion**	
aṭil	*aδiyyar n waṭil*	"a single grape"
axeyyam	*idda dar uxeyyam*	"he went to the house"
aγil	*g^{w}af n yaγil*	"on top of the mountain"
tamzgida	*iffeγ zg tmzgida*	"he went out of the mosque"

3.3.2 Use of état d'annexion after *yan*/*yat* "one"

The second use of the état d'annexion is the use after numeral *yan*/*yat* "one".

état libre	**état d'annexion**	
asekkaw	*ya wsekkaw*	"one horn"
aγil	*yan yaγil*	"one mountain"
tag^{j}ig^{j}et	*yat tg^{j}ig^{j}et*	"one tree"

4. Adjectives

Adjectival modification in Ghomara manifests in two different ways. The adjectival modification by means of Ghomara Berber adjectives and by means of adjectives borrowed from MA. In this subparagraph, we will first discuss the attributive and predicative adjectives of Ghomara Berber. Furthermore, we will discuss some examples of participial adjectival modification. To conclude this subparagraph we will look into the Arabic loans regarding the attributive and predicative adjectives.

4.1. Attributive adjectives

Attributive adjectives have either suffix -ø in the case of a masculine singular head noun or -*θ* in all other cases (feminine singular and plural nouns).

4.1.1 Masculine singular nouns

The suffix of attributive adjectives following a masculine singular noun is zero.

…-ø

arg^{j}az εeyya[55]	"the, a tired man"
arg^{j}az meqqur	"the, a big man"
ṭayfur mellul	"the, a white table"

[55] Although this is an Arabic loan the adjectival modification manifests in two ways namely according to Arabic morphology (*εeyyan*, *εeyyana*, *εeyyanin*) and as is the case according to the Ghomara Berber morphology at least in the case of the singular (*εeyya* and *εeyyaθ*). The plural is *εeyyaw* instead of ε*eyyaθ*. This is probably the case because we are dealing here with the MA verb *εya* ("to be tired") which becomes *εyaw* in the third plural person of the perfectum. Cf. Sobelman, H. and Richard S. Harrell (ed.), *A dictionary of Moroccan Arabic: English-Arabic* (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1963), s.v. tired.

4.1.2. Feminine singular nouns

In the case of feminine singular nouns, the suffix of attributive adjectives following this noun is *-θ*.

…-θ

tameṭṭut ɛeyyaθ	"the, a tired woman"
tamɣart meẓẓiθ	"the, a little woman"
tameṭṭut mellueθ	"the, a white woman"

4.1.3. Masculine plural nouns

Also in the case of masculine plural nouns the suffix of the corresponding attributive adjectives is *-θ*.

…-θ

medden mellueθ	"(the) white people"
irgʲazen muqqreθ	"(the) big men"
išnekkafen meẓẓiθ	"(the) little hedgehogs"

4.1.4. Feminine plural nouns

The following examples attest that the suffix *-θ* is used for attributive adjectives in the case of masculine as well as feminine plural nouns.

…-θ

tiɛiyyalan meẓẓiθ	"(the) little girls"
timeṭṭutan muqqreθ	"(the) big women"
tilawzan mziuθ[56]	"(the) small almonds"

[56] This form is mainly used in Bni Menṣur.

4.2. Predicative adjectives

The predicative adjectives follow the same pattern as the attributive adjectives discussed above.

4.2.1 Masculine singular nouns

…-ø

maḥall an wan meqqur	“that room over there is large”
netta ma ši meqqur	“he is not big”

4.2.2. Feminine singular nouns

…-θ

ššemɛa mezẓiθ	“the candle is short”
nettaθa ma hell ši muqqreθ	“she is not big”
tameṭṭut melluleθ	“the woman is white”

4.2.3. Masculine plural nouns

…-θ

niçma ma llan ši muqqreθ	“they are not big”

4.2.4. Feminine plural nouns

…-θ

niçma ma llan ši muqqreθ	“they (f.) are not big”

4.3. Participial adjectival modification

In addition to the use of the adjectives *meqqur* "big" and *meẓẓi* "small" the participial counterparts are also used for adjectival modification. Even though we have several examples of the use of the participles *imuqqren* and *imeẓẓin*, there are no examples of the verbal counterparts. This leads to the conclusion that the verbs related to *meqqur* and *meẓẓi* are not used in Ghomara Berber.[57]

ɛid imuqqren	"the big festival" (Ar. *ɛid l'aḍḥa*)
ɛid imeẓẓin	"the small festival" (Ar. *ɛid lfiṭr*)
netta wa ymuqqren	"he is the biggest" (litt.: "he is the one who is big")
tameṭṭut a ymuqqren hiya yemma	"the biggest woman is my mother"
nettaθa a g illan ta ymuqqren	"she was the biggest"
nihma ma llan ši wi ymuqqren	"they are not the biggest"

4.4. Arabic loans

4.4.1. Attributive adjectives

4.4.1.1. Masculine singular nouns

Adjectives borrowed from MA agree in number and gender with the head noun according to MA morphology. State (i.e. état libre and état d'annexion) of the head noun does not play a role in this, as is the case with the Ghomara Berber adjectives.

Attributive adjectives following masculine singular nouns have suffix *-ø*. In the case of feminine singular nouns the suffix of the attributive adjectives is *-a*. Attributive adjectives following plural nouns have suffix *-in*.

…-ø

ya wergʲaz γliṭ	"a fat man"
nnhar lluli	"the, a first day"

[57] Cf. A. Allati, *Diachronie tamazighte ou berbère* (Tétouan: L'Université Abdelmalek Essaâdi, 2002) p. 276.

ṭayfur mḍuwwer	“the, a round table”

4.4.1.2. Feminine singular nouns

…-a

tameṭṭut γliṭa	“the, a fat woman”
tameṭṭut lluliyya	“the, a first woman”
yat tmeṭṭut rqiqa	“a slim woman”

4.4.1.3. Plural nouns

…-in

lmedden γliṭin	“(the) fat people”
lmedden rqiqin	“(the) slim people”
timeṭṭutan laxriyyin	“(the) last women”

4.4. Arabic loans

4.4.2. Predicative adjectives

The borrowed predicative adjectives follow the same pattern as the borrowed attributive adjectives discussed in 4.4.1.

4.4.2.1. Masculine singular nouns

…-ø

lmus ḥafi	“the knife is sharp”
žželd ennes rṭab	“she has a smooth skin”
arg^{j}azan feqsan	“that man is sad”

4.4.2.2. Feminine singular nouns

…-a

tagg^{w}urtan ma ši tqila	“that door is not heavy”
tameṭṭutan feqsana	“that woman is sad”
nettaθa maɛduma	“she is ill”

4.4.2.3. Plural nouns

…-in

niçma maɛdumin	“they are ill”
isanen inu ma llan ši mguwdin	“my teeth are not correct”
iɣuyal ennes ɛeyyanin	“her donkeys are tired”

5. Quantification

In this subparagraph, we will discuss the quantification of nouns. We will first discuss the quantification by means of numerals. Next we will discuss the indefinite pronouns. Finally, we will discuss a group of quantifiers borrowed form MA.

5.1. Numerals

5.1.1. Cardinal numerals

The cardinal numerals in Ghomara Berber correspond to the MA numerals with the exception of *yan*/*yat* “one”. The numeral *waḥed* “one” is used in enumerations and fixed expressions. The numeral *yan* is used for nominal modification of masculine nouns while *yat* is used for feminine nouns.

1.	*waḥed*[58]*, yan, yat*	11.	*ḥḍaš*	21.	*waḥduɛišrin*
2.	*zuž*	12.	*ṭenɛaš*	30.	*tlatin*
3.	*tlata*	13.	*telṭaš*	40.	*rebɛin*
4.	*rebɛa*	14.	*rbaɛṭaš*	50.	*xemsin*
5.	*xemsa*	15.	*xemsṭaš*	60.	*settin*
6.	*setta*	16.	*seṭṭaš*	70.	*sebɛin*
7.	*sebɛa*	17.	*sbeɛṭaš*	80.	*tmanin*
8.	*tmenya*	18.	*tmenṭaš*	90.	*tesɛin*
9.	*tesɛud*	19.	*tseɛṭaš*	100.	*miya*
10.	*ɛašara*	20.	*ɛišrin*	1000.	*alf*

The numerals are connected to the plural nouns in the état d'annexion by means of the genitive preposition *n* "of". The exception is the numeral *yan*/*yat*, which is followed directly by the singular noun in the état d'annexion.

yat tmeṭṭut	"one woman"
ɣar i žuž n mqali g ya wsammir	"I have two frying pans in a vast place"
žuž n teffaḥan	"two apples"
tlata n irgʲazen	"three men"
tseɛṭaš erɛam i nekk tilix ddha	"nineteen years, that's how long I have been living here"
telṭaš ne ktuba awrax nekkin	"thirteen books, that's how much I have written"

In the case of cleft sentences other elements can be inserted between the numeral and the genitive preposition *n* which is followed by the modified noun.

tmenya i ɣar s n leḥšam	"she has eight children"

In the case of fixed expressions borrowed from MA, the numerals are not subject to the mentioned morphology but are instead subject to MA morphology.

iqqim ssbaɛ das buḥdu	"the lion stayed over there by himself"

[58] The feminine counterpart *lwaḥda* (including definite article) is used for indication of time.

niçma b zuž	“the two of them”
iṭaren nnes b arbɛa	“his legs, all four of them”
nekkin ddrex g hulanda xemsawɛišrin sna	“I have lived for twenty five years in Holland”

5.1.2. Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals in Ghomara follow the pattern of MA ordinal numerals. The ordinal numerals act as adjectives. In general, they agree in number and gender with the modified noun.

timɣaran lluliyin	“the first women”
tameṭṭut lluliya	“the first woman”
tameṭṭut tanya	“the second woman”
nnhar ttani	“the second day”
nnhar ttalit	“the third day”

The following example seems to be an exception to the rule that ordinal numerals agree in number with the modified noun. In MA, ordinal numerals agree in number and in gender. We do not have a plausible explanation for this example.

l’ayyam lluliya	“the first days”

5.2. Indefinite pronouns

Numeral *yan*/*yat* is used as an indefinite article in Ghomara Berber.

yan ax zg hullanda	“a brother from Holland”
yat tɛeyyalt twaqa bin ig^{j}ig^{j}en	“a girl is standing between trees”
ɣars ya wɛeyyal yallah ixleq	“she has a recently born child”
aç tell g^{w}ammas l lebḥar yal lbaṭil	“there was a boat in the middle of the sea”

In addition *inši* can also render a noun indefinite.

itsiyyab iɣessan g lḥaža inši	“he was throwing the bone in something”
das lɣar inši	“there is some kind of a cave”
saržem inši	“some kind of a window”

5.3. Arabic loans

5.3.1. Quantifier *kull* “all”

The quantifier *kull* “all” modifies a noun or a pronoun. It is connected to the noun without any element.

kullahum mqaṭɛin	“all of them have been cut off”
layna yttuθu kun nnhar g be llil	“where does he go every night”
leḥšam n ɛammi kullahum	“the children of my uncle, all of them”
ša heddum kullši	“you will go, all of you”

5.3.2. Quantifier *bezzaf* “many”

The quantifier *bezzaf* “many” is connected to nouns by means of the genitive preposition *n*. It can also be a quantifier of a verb.

inna s agʲdi ɣari bezzaf	“the jackal said I have many”
ga s taδunt bezzaf	“it contains too much fat”
ma kayn ši bezzaf n itšawtšawen gʲenna	“there are not many birds in the sky”
nuçna ma ṭlaqina ši bezzaf n tɛiyyalan	“we never met many girls”
lželdaduha ismin bezzaf	“this leather is too fat”

5.3.3. Quantifier *lbaɛḍ* “some”

The quantifier *lbaɛḍ* “some” is connected to nouns by means of the genitive preposition *n*.

lbaɛḍ l lmedden	“some people”
lebɛaḍ l lmasa’il	“some matters”

III. VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

1. Affixes

Person, gender and number are marked by affixes. In this paragraph, we will discuss the affixes of the verb, the imperative and the participle.

1.1. Verb

Three so-called TAM-stems (tense/aspect/mood) are used in Ghomara Berber namely the aorist, preterite and intensive. There are no negative counterparts of these stems. Negation is achieved by means of the negative preverbal element *ma* usually combined with the postverbal element *ši* (see VI/2.2.).

The following scheme is a survey of the verbal affixes. The aorist form of the verb has been used here as an example since this is the most simple form of the verb and also forms the basis for the formation of the preterite and intensive.

Table 006. Verbal affixes

		***kšem* "enter"**	***ttru* "weep"**	***ara* "write"**	***rri* "sow"**
1s	***…-ex***	***kešm****-ex*	***ttru****-x*	***ara****-x*	***rri****-x*
2s	***t-…-et***	*t-**kešm**-et*	*t-**ettru**-t*	*t-**ara**-t*	*t-**erri**-t*
3sm	***i-…***	*i-**kšem***	*i-**ttru***	*y-**ara***	*i-**rri***
3sf	***t-…***	*t-**ekšem***	*t-**ettru***	*t-**ara***	*t-**erri***
1p	***n-…***	*n-**ekšem***	*n-**ettru***	*n-**ara***	*n-**erri***
2p	***t-…-em***	*t-**kešm**-em*	*t-**ettru**-m*	*t-**ara**-m*	*t-**erri**-m*
3p	***…-en***	***kešm****-en*	***ttru****-n*	***ara****-n*	***rri****-n*

1.2. Imperative

The plural imperative suffix *-awθ* is the only suffix for the imperative in Ghomara Berber.

Table 007. Affixes of imperative

		***kšem* "enter"**	***ttru* "weep"**	***ara* "write"**	***rri* "sow"**
1s	**…-ø**	***kšem***	***ttru***	***ara***	***rri***
2s	***…-awθ***	***kešm***-*awθ*	***tterw***-*awθ*	***ara***-*wθ*	***rry***-*awθ*

1.3. Participle

Ghomara Berber has just one participial form used in all contexts. The participle is achieved by applying circumfix *i-…-en* to one of the three TAM-stems. The participle in Ghomara does not express difference in gender, number or difference between stative and non-stative or positive and negative.

i-...-en

arg^{j}az ag illan qarm	"the man who was silent"
timeṭṭutan itɛummen huma tiɛiyyalan inu	"the women who are swimming are my daughters"
tameṭṭut itilin sakta	"the woman who is being silent"

1.4. Arabic loans

Arabic loans play an important role in verbal morphology. Many verbs of Arabic origin are used in Ghomara Berber. Most of these verbs are inflected according to Ghomara Berber morphology. There are a few exceptions though. Some Arabic verbs are inflected according to MA morphology as we will see in the following paragraph.

1.4.1. Arabic verbs

The following verbs of Arabic origin are inflected according to MA morphology. The MA affixes are applied according to the tense (imperfectum of perfectum) as well as the intensive particle *ka* which is used to mark the intensive (see III/2.4.).

isker iði baš nṭlaqaw	"we agreed to meet each other"
sell leḥšam nnem ka yeqraw	"listen to your children while they are learning"

ddan dar tgg^{w}urt ḥešmu	"they went to the door and were ashamed"
amça kay tekteb lism enneç	"how do you write your name?"

One of the most conspicuous examples is the verb *ṭlaqa* "to meet".[59] This verb is nearly always inflected according to MA morphology. The exception is the third person singular of the perfectum which is mostly inflected according to Ghomara Berber morphology (i.e. *iṭlaqa* instead of *ṭlaqa*). In the following table we will present all the forms of this verb which are used in Ghomara Berber.

Table 008. Verbal conjugation of *ṭlaqa* "to meet"

	imperfectum	**perfectum**
1s	*n-**ṭlaqa***	***ṭlaqi**-t*
2s	*t-**ṭlaqa***	***ṭlaqi**-t*
3sm	*i-**ṭlaqa***	*i-ṭlaqa, **ṭlaqa***
3sf	*t-**ṭlaqa***	***ṭlaqa**-θ*
1p	*n-**ṭlaqa**-w, n-**ṭlaqa**-y*	***ṭlaqi**-na*
2p	*t-**ṭlaq**-aw*	***ṭlaqi**-θum*[60]
3p	*i-**ṭlaq**-aw*	***ṭlaqa**-w*

In addition to the common and widely used verb "*ṭlaqa*" there are a number of other Arabic verbs that are inflected according to Moroccan Arabic morphology. In the tables 008A to 008C we will present the verbal conjugation of the the following Arabic verbs: *tḥeššem* "to shame", *qra* "to read", *ṣber* "to be patient".

[59] Sobelman, *A dictionary of Moroccan Arabic*, s.v. meet.
[60] This is an irregularity according to MA morphology. We would expect *ṭlaqitiw* or *ṭlaqiθiw* instead of *ṭlaqiθum*. This list is the result of elicitation whereby our informant Muhammad Hudda summed the used forms. We asked him to do this after we had found different attestations of this verb in the collected texts (see: Texts). Since Muhammad Hudda knows MSA there might have been a commixture whereby he used the second person plural of MSA (*-tum*) instead of MA. On the other hand, we got to know Muhammad Hudda as a consistent and accurate informant. Either way this remains an Arabic suffix and not a Berber suffix. Cf. R. Otten, *Basiswoordenboek Marokkaans Arabisch - Nederlands en Nederlands-Marokkaans Arabisch* (Muiderberg: Coutinho, 1983), pp. 898-899.

Table 008A. Verbal conjugation of *tḥeššem* "to shame"

	imperfectum	**perfectum**
1s	*n-**tḥeššem***	***tḥeššem**-t*
2s	*t-**tḥeššem***	***tḥeššem**-t*
3sm	*i-**tḥeššem***	***tḥeššem***
3sf	*t-**etḥeššem***	***tḥeššem**-θ*
1p	*n-**tḥeššm**-u*	***tḥeššem**-na*
2p	*t-**tḥeššm**-u*	***tḥeššem**-tum*
3p	*i-**tḥeššm**-u*	***tḥeššm**-u*

Table 008B. Verbal conjugation of *qra* "to read"

	imperfectum	**perfectum**
1s	*n-**eqra***	***qri**-t*
2s	*t-**eqra***	***qri**-t*
3sm	*i-**qra***	***qra***
3sf	*t-**eqra***	***qra**-t*
1p	*n-**eqra**-w*	***qri**-na*
2p	*t-**eqra**-w*	***qri**-θum*
3p	*i-**qra**-w*	***qra**-w*

Table 008C. Verbal conjugation of *ṣber* "to be patient"

	imperfectum	**perfectum**
1s	*n-**eṣber***	***ṣber**-t*
2s	*t-**eṣber***	***ṣber**-t*
3sm	*i-**ṣber***	***ṣber***
3sf	*t-**eṣber***	***ṣber**-t*

1p	*n-* ***ṣebr****-u*	***ṣber****-na*
2p	*t-****ṣebr****-u*	***ṣber****-tum*
3p	*i-****ṣebr****-u*	***ṣebr****-u*

1.4.2 Arabic participles

In Ghomara Berber a number of MA participles are used. Most of these participles have a feminine and plural counterpart. The participles have suffix *-ø* in the case of a masculine singular subject and suffix *-a* in the case of a feminine singular subject while the participles have suffix *-in* in the case of a plural subject.

The aorist, preterite and intensive of the verb *ll* "to be" are used in combination with the Arabic participles in order to constitute the temporal or aspectual aspects of the Arabic participle. The verb *ll* can be negated by the preverbal element *ma* mostly combined with the postverbal element *ši*.

…-ø

nekkin dayma tilix maši	"I am always walking"
kedžin mqiyyeδ	"you are tied"
nekkin xeddam	"I am working"

… -*a*

nettaθa xeddama	"she is working"
nettaθa ma ç tell ši mašša	"she was not walking"
netaθa aç tell mqiyyδa	"she was tied"

… -*in*

kunna ma hellam ši mašin	"you (p.) are not walking right now"
nuçna mqiyyδin	"we are tied"
kunna ma ç tellam ši mɛellmin	"you (p.) are not learned"

Note that the participle *maši* “walking” and the verb *mša* “to go” in combination with the Arabic intensive particle *ka* are not used in the same way even though they are related to one another. The participle *maši* is used to denote the action of walking at a certain point in time while the verb *mša* combined with the Arabic intensive particle *ka* is used to denote the action of “going” in general and not connected to a specific point of time. The following examples attest to this.

001.	*ka*	*ne-mši-w*	*u*	*n-žemɛ-u*	*lɛa’ila*
	INP-AR	1p-go-1p/IMP-AR	and	1p-gather-1p/IMP-AR	family
	“we go and gather the family”				

002.	*kifaš*	*kedžin*	*maši*	*amça*	*δi*
	why	2sm/PRO	walking/PTC-AR	like	sm/PRD
	“why are you walking around like this”				

2. Stems

Stems characterize the different verb types. The different stem formations consist of consonants, geminate consonants and vowels in various compositions. In this paragraph, we will examine the different verb types and the formation of the different verb types.

2.1. Verb types

2.1.1. Type CCC

A common verb type is CCC. Some of the verbs of this type are borrowed verbs of the Arabic stem I. Other than the fact that the stem is borrowed these verbs act as any other Berber verb. The same goes for the other verbs we will examine that have an Arabic stem.

CCC

aorist	**preterite**	**intensive**		**verblist**
kšem	*kšem*	*kettšem*	“enter”	1.1.
nṭeg	*nṭeg*	*neṭṭeg*	“fly”	1.2.

ršeq	*ršeq*	*reššeq*	“split”	1.3.
sker	*sker*	*skar*	“do, make”	1.4.
werg	*werg*	*targa*	“dream”	

Arabic stem I

berd	*berd*	*tberrad*	“freeze”	
ḥreq	*ḥreq*	*tḥerraq*	“ache”	
ḥseb	*ḥseb*	*ḥesseb*	“count”	
xdem	*xdem*	*xeddem*	“work”	1.5.

2.1.2. Type CCVC

The main type CCVC exists of two verb types: CCuC and CCaC.

2.1.2.1. Type CCuC

CCuC

sruɣ	*sraɣ*	*sruɣ*	“light”

2.1.2.2. Type CCaC

CCaC

kṣaḍ	*kṣuḍ*	*tekṣaḍ*	“be afraid”
msaḥ	*msaḥ*	*messaḥ*	“rub”
ɛyar	*ɛyar*	*tɛeyar*	“play”

2.1.3. Type CVCC

The two verb types within the main type CVCC are CaCC and CiCC, which will be discussed below.

2.1.3.1. Type CaCC

We do not have many examples of the verb type CaCC. It is clear though that Arabic stem III belongs to this category as well.

CaCC

sagʲem	*sagʲem*	*tsagʲam*	“wait”	2.1.1.

Arabic stem III

ɛaweδ	*ɛaweδ*	*tɛawaδ*	“report”

2.1.3.2. Type CiCC

CiCC

siwel	*sawel*	*tsawal*	“talk, speak”	2.2.1.

2.1.4. Type CCCa

CCCa

ṣeqṣa	*ṣeqṣa*	*tṣeqṣa*	“ask”

2.1.5. Type CĈC

A very common verb type is CĈC. It must be noted that this type mainly exists of verbs of Arabic stem II.

CĈC

çerreç	*çerreç*	*tçerraç*	“lie”	3.2.

Arabic stem II

berreḥ	*berreḥ*	*tberraḥ*	“call”	3.1.
debbar	*debbar*	*tdebbar*	“arrange”	3.3.
ḍuwwar	*ḍuwwar*	*tḍuwwar*	“turn”	
fekkar	*fekkar*	*tfekkar*	“think”	
ɣenni	*ɣenna*	*tɣennay*	“sing”	3.4.
ɣeẓẓez	*ɣeẓẓez*	*tɣeẓẓaz*	“chew”	
siyyeb	*siyyeb*	*tsiyyab*	“throw”	3.5.
ṣebben	*ṣebben*	*tṣebban*	“wash”	3.6.
ṣuwwer	*ṣuwwer*	*tṣuwwar*	“draw”	
šebbar	*šebbar*	*tšebbar*	“grab, hold”	3.7.
xiyyeṭ	*xiyyeṭ*	*txiyyaṭ*	“sew”	3.8.
ẓiyyar	*ẓiyyar*	*tẓiyyar*	“tighten”	
ɛellem	*ɛellem*	*tɛellam*	“learn”	

2.1.6. Type ĈC

Contrary to verb type CĈC, verb type ĈC only consists of Berber stems. This is because initial geminate consonants in verb stems are restricted to Berber in the sense that they do not occur in MA.

ĈC

dder	*ddir*	*tedder*	“live”	
ffeɣ	*ffeɣ*	*teffeɣ*	“leave”	4.1.
ggez	*ggez*	*teggez*	“descend”	
kker	*kker*	*tekker*	“stand up”	4.2.
qqel	*qqel*	*teqqel*	“return”	4.3.
ssen	*ssen*	*ssen*	“know”	
ṭṭes	*ṭṭes*	*teṭṭes*	“sleep”	4.4.
wweθ	*wθa*	*tkaθa*	“hit”	4.5.

2.1.7. Type ĈCu

Our corpus contains only one example of the verb type ĈCu: *ttru* “weep”.

ĈCu

ttru	*ttru*	*ttru*	“weep”	5.1.

2.1.8. Type ĈVC

The main type ĈVC consists of two verb types: ĈuC and ĈaC. We will discuss these verb types in the following.

2.1.8.1. Type ĈuC

ĈuC

lluẓ	*lluẓ*	*tlaẓ*	“be hungry”	6.1.1.
mmuθ	*mmuθ*	*tmettaθ*	“die”	6.1.2.
ssuṭ	*ssaṭ*	*tsuṭ*	“blow”	

2.1.8.2. Type ĈaC

ĈaC

kkar	*kkar*	*kkar*	“be full”	6.2.1.

2.1.8.3. Type ĈiC

ĈiC

qqim	*qqim*	*tɣima*	“stay, sit”	6.3.1.

2.1.9. Type CaĈ

CaĈ

ḥakk	*ḥakk*	*tḥakka*	“scratch”	
ẓall	*ẓull*	*tẓalla*	“pray”	7.1.

2.1.10. Type CĈ

Based on the examples below we can say that verb type CĈ consists mostly of Arabic stem I verbs with geminate final consonant.

CĈ

sell	*sell*	*tesla*	“listen”	8.1.

Arabic stem I

šemm	*šemm*	*tšemma*	“smell”
šedd	*šedd*	*tšedda*	“tie”
xess	*xess*	*xess*	“need, want”

2.1.11. Type CC

This verb type is one of the few verb types with morphological irregularities in the verbal conjugation. The other verb type with morphological irregularities is Ĉ (see III/2.1.16).

CC

dž	*wdž~a*	*tadža*	“leave”	9.1.
fk	*fk~a*	*ttak*	“give”	9.2.
neγ	*neγ~a*	*neqqa*	“kill”	9.3

su *su~a* *sessu* “drink” 9.4.

The preterite stems of CC verb have a final vowel *a* in all cases except the third person singular and the first person plural as shown in the following table.

Table 009. Preterite of CC verbs

	***dž* “leave”**	***fk* “give”**	***neɣ* “kill”**	***su* “drink”**
1s	***wdža**-x*	***fka**-x*	***nɣa**-x*	***swa**-x*
2s	*t-**ewdža**-t*	*t-**efka**-t*	*t-**enɣa**-t*	*t-**eswa**-t*
3sm	*i-**wdž***	*i-**fk***	*i-**neɣ***	*i-**su***
3sf	*t-**ewdž***	*t-**efk***	*t-**neɣ***	*t-**su***
1p	*n-**ewdž***	*n-**efk***	*n-**neɣ***	*n-**su***
2p	*t-**ewdža**-m*	*t-**efka**-m*	*t-**enɣa**-m*	*t-**eswa**-m*
3p	***wdža**-n*	***fka**-n*	***nɣa**-n*	***swa**-n*

2.1.12. Type aCC

The following example represents the only example we have of this type. We therefore consider this type rare.

aCC

ara *ura* *ttara* “write” 10.1.

2.1.13. Type CCu

Another rare verb type is the type CCu of which we will give the only example present in our corpus.

CCu

bdu *bda* *taddu* “begin” 11.1.

2.1.14. Type CaC

The type CaC is a type which is also not very common in Ghomara Berber. The only attestation of this type is *ẓar* “see”.

CaC

ẓar	*ẓar*	*twala*	“see”

2.1.15. Type aCaC

The verb aCaC is yet another verb type that is not common based on the fact that we have only one example in ou corpus.

aCaC

amar	*amar*	*ttamar*	“send”

2.1.16. Type Ĉ

As we have mentioned, the verb type Ĉ is also subject to morphological irregularities.

Ĉ

bb	*bb~a*	*ttawi*	“bring”	12.1.
ll	*ll~a*	*tili*	“be, exist”	12.2
nn	*nna*	*qqar*	“say”	12.3.
šš	*šš~a*	*tett*	“eat”	12.4.

The preterite stem of most of these verbs have a final vowel *a* in the base of the verb except in the third person singular and the first person plural. One exception is the verb *nna* “say” which has final vowel *a* in all cases. The following table shows the verbal conjugation of the preterite stem of these verbs.

Table 010. Preterite of Ĉ verbs

	***bb* "take"**	***ll* "be, exist"**	***nn* "say"**	***šš* "eat"**
1s	***bba**-x*	***lla**-x*	***nna**-x*	***šša**-x*
2s	*t-**ebba**-t*	*t-**ella**-t*	*t-**enna**-t*	*t-**ešša**-t*
3sm	*i-**bb***	*i-**ll***	*i-**nna***	*i-**šš***
3sf	*t-**ebb***	*t-**ell***	*t-**enna***	*t-**ešš***
1p	*n-**ebb***	*n-**ell***	*n-**enna***	*n-**ešš***
2p	*t-**ebba**-m*	*t-**ella**-m*	*t-**enna**-m*	*t-**ešša**-m*
3p	***bba**-n*	***lla**-n*	***nna**-n*	***šša**-n*

2.1.17. Type ĈV

The main type ĈV consists of two verb types, namely Ĉu and Ĉi. These two verb types are also rare in Ghomara Berber; we have just one example of each verb type.

2.1.17.1. Type Ĉu

Ĉu

ddu	*dda*	*ttuθu*	"come"	13.1.1.

2.1.17.2. Type Ĉi

Ĉi

rri	*rri*	*rraz* (!)	"breathe, sow"	13.2.1.

2.1.18. Type aC

Finally, the verb *af* "find" is the only example in our corpus of the type aC.

aC

af	*ufa*	*ttafa*	“find”

2.2. Stem formations

The formation of the preterite and intensive on the basis of the aorist is achieved by different processes. We will discuss these processes of the stem formations of the preterite and intensive based on the aorist stem.

2.2.1. Formation of preterite

In most cases preterite and aorist coincide as the next examples illustrate.

aorist	**preterite**		**verblist**
amar	*amar*	“send”	
berd	*berd*	“freeze”	
berreḥ	*berreḥ*	“call”	3.1.
çerreç	*çerreç*	“lie”	3.2.
debbar	*debbar*	“arrange”	3.3.
ḍuwwar	*ḍuwwar*	“turn”	
fekkar	*fekkar*	“think”	
ffeγ	*ffeγ*	“leave”	5.1.
ggez	*ggez*	“descend”	
ḥakk	*ḥakk*	“scratch”	
ḥreq	*ḥreq*	“ache”	
ḥseb	*ḥseb*	“count”	
kkar	*kkar*	“be full”	6.2.1.
kker	*kker*	“stand up”	4.2.
kšem	*kšem*	“enter”	1.1.
lluẓ	*lluẓ*	“be hungry”	6.1.1.
mmuθ	*mmuθ*	“die”	6.1.2.

msaḥ	*msaḥ*	“rub”	
nṭeg	*nṭeg*	“fly”	1.2.
qqel	*qqel*	“return”	4.3.
qqim	*qqim*	“stay, sit”	6.3.1.
rri	*rri*	“sow”	13.2.1.
ršeq	*ršeq*	“split”	1.3.
sagʲem	*sagʲem*	“wait”	2.1.1.
sell	*sell*	“listen”	8.1.
ssen	*ssen*	“know”	
siyyeb	*siyyeb*	“throw”	3.5.
sker	*sker*	“do, make”	1.4.
ṣeqṣa	*ṣeqṣa*	“ask”	
ṣebben	*ṣebben*	“wash”	3.6.
ṣuwwer	*ṣuwwer*	“draw”	
šebbar	*šebbar*	“grab, hold”	3.7.
šedd	*šedd*	“tie”	
šemm	*šemm*	“smell”	
ttru	*ttru*	“weep”	5.1.
ṭṭes	*ṭṭes*	“sleep”	4.4.
werg	*werg*	“dream”	
xdem	*xdem*	“work”	1.5.
xess	*xess*	“need, want”	
xiyyeṭ	*xiyyeṭ*	“sew”	3.8.
ẓar	*ẓar*	“see”	
ẓiyyar	*ẓiyyar*	“tighten”	
ɣeẓẓez	*ɣeẓẓez*	“chew”	
ɛaweð	*ɛaweð*	“report”	
ɛellem	*ɛellem*	“learn”	
ɛyar	*ɛyar*	“play”	

In other cases the preterite is based on the aorist and its formation is brought about by means of ablaut patterns. We will discuss the most common ablaut patterns.

2.2.1.1. Change of *a* into *u*

Verbs with an initial vowel *a* in the aorist can have a change of vowel in the preterite whereby the *a* becomes *u*.

aCC → uCC

aorist	**preterite**		**verblist**
ara	*ura*	“write”	10.1.

aC → uCa

af	*ufa*	“find”

This can also occur with verbs with a medial *a* in the aorist. In this case the medial *a* changes into a medial *u* in the preterite.

CaĈ → CuĈ

ẓall	*ẓull*	“pray”	7.1.

CCaC → CCuC

kṣaḍ	*kṣuḍ*	“be afraid”

2.2.1.2. Change of *u* into *a*

Verbs with a medial *u* in the aorist can have a change of vowel in the preterite resulting in a medial *a*.

CCuC → CCaC

sruγ	*sraγ*	“light”

ĈuC → ĈaC

ssuṭ	*ssaṭ*	“blow”	

The change of vowel *u* into *a* may also occur with verbs which have final *u*.

Ĉu → Ĉa

ddu	*dda*	“go”	13.1.1.

CCu → CCa

bdu	*bda*	“begin”	11.1.

2.2.1.3. Change of *i* into *a*

The medial *i* of the aorist may change into a medial *a* in the preterite.

CiCC → CaCC

siwel	*sawel*	“talk”	2.2.1.

This change of *i* into *a* can also occur in the case of verbs with a final vowel *i*. The following example is a CĈC type of verb but has a final vowel *i* which changes in the preterite into vowel *a*.

CĈi → CĈa

ɣenni	*ɣenna*	“sing”	4.4.

2.2.2. Formation of intensive

A number of intensive stems coincide with the corresponding aorist stems.

aorist	**preterite**		**verblist**
kkar	*kkar*	“be full”	6.2.1.
sruɣ	*sruɣ*	“light”	
ssen	*ssen*	“know”	
ttru	*ttru*	“weep”	5.1.
xess	*xess*	“need, want”	

In most cases one of the formation processes is used for the formation of the intensive based on the aorist. There are four main processes for the formation of the intensive. 1. Gemination of the second consonant. 2. Prefixation of prefix *t* or *tt*. 3. Suffixation of vowel *a*. 4. Infixation of vowel *a*. These different processes are combined in multiple ways as we will see.

2.2.2.1. Gemination

Gemination of the second consonant occurs with verbs of the type CCC and CCaC.

CCC → CĈC

aorist	**intensive**		**verblist**
ḥseb	*ḥesseb*	“count”	
nṭeg	*neṭṭeg*	“fly”	1.2.
ršeq	*reššeq*	“split”	1.3.
xdem	*xeddem*	“work”	1.5.

CCaC → CĈaC

msaḥ	*messaḥ*	“rub”

2.2.2.2. Prefixation of *t*

Prefixation of *t* is a common process for the formation of the intensive. Many verb types have prefix *t* in the intensive. We will look into the following verb types: ĈC, CĈC, CCaC, CuĈ and CCCa.

ĈC → t-ĈC

dder	*tedder*	“live”	
ffeɣ	*teffeɣ*	“leave”	4.1.
ggez	*teggez*	“descend”	
kker	*tekker*	“stand up”	4.2.
qqel	*teqqel*	“return”	4.3.
ṭṭes	*teṭṭes*	“sleep”	4.4.

CĈC → t-CĈC

debbar	*tdebbar*	“arrange”	3.3
ḍuwwar	*tḍuwwar*	“turn”	
fekkar	*tfekkar*	“think”	
šebbar	*tšebbar*	“grab, hold”	3.7.
ẓiyyar	*tẓiyyar*	“tighten”	

CCaC → t-CCaC

kṣaḍ	*tekṣaḍ*	“be afraid”
ɛyar	*tɛeyar*	“play”

CuĈ → t-CuĈ

ɛumm	*tɛumm*	“swim”

CCCa → t-CCCa

ṣeqṣa	*tṣeqṣa*	“ask”

2.2.2.3. Prefixation of *tt*

Verbs with an initial vowel *a* in the stem of the aorist have prefix *tt*. The attested verb types are aCaC and aCC.

aCaC → tt-aCaC

amar	*ttamar*	“send”	

aCC → tt-aCC

ara	*ttara*	“write”	10.1.
awi	*ttawi*	“bring”	

2.2.2.4. Prefixation of *t* and infixation of *a*

In addition to prefix *t*, the intensive stem of some verbs has infix *a* before the last consonant. The attested verbs are CaCC and CĈC.

CaCC → t-CaC-a-C

ɛaweδ	*tɛawaδ*	“report”	

CĈC → t-CĈ-a-C

berreḥ	*tberraḥ*	“call”	3.1.
çerreç	*tçerraç*	“lie”	3.2
siyyeb	*tsiyyab*	“throw”	3.5.
ṣebben	*tṣebban*	“wash”	3.6.
ṣuwwer	*tṣuwwar*	“draw”	
xiyyeṭ	*txiyyaṭ*	“sew”	3.8.
ɣeẓẓez	*tɣeẓẓaz*	“chew”	

ɛellem	*tɛellam*	“learn”

2.2.2.5. Prefixation of *t* and suffixation of *a*

A number of verbs with a final geminated consonant have prefix *t* and suffix *a* in the intensive. The following examples of the verb types CaĈ and CĈ attest to this.

CaĈ → t-CaĈ-a

ḥakk	*tḥakka*	“scratch”	
ẓall	*tẓalla*	“pray”	7.1.

CĈ → t-CĈ-a

šedd	*tšedda*	“tie”
šemm	*tšemma*	“smell”

2.2.2.6. Prefixation of *t*, gemination and infixation of *a*

In a few cases three processes constitute the formation of the intensive. The following examples of the verb type CCC have prefix *t* and infix *a* before the last consonant while the second consonant is geminated.

CCC → t-CĈ-a-C

berd	*tberrad*	“freeze”
ḥreq	*tḥerraq*	“ache”
fseç	*tfessaç*	“untie”

2.3. Derivational prefixes

During our research we have found a few examples of derivational prefixes which we will enlist below to illustrate that this phenomenon exists in Ghomara Berber as in other Berber languages.

2.3.1. Causative prefix *ss*

The following causative prefixes are taken from the fables we have gathered, which are represented in the section Texts.

ss-…

kšem	enter	*ssekšem*	“let in”
bzeg	be wet	*ssebzeg*	“make wet”

2.3.2. Onomatopoeic prefix *ss*

The following example of an onomatopoeic prefix is the result of elicitation.

ss-…

sskuḥḥu	“cough”

2.4. Arabic loans

2.4.1. Intensive marking of Arabic loans

We have seen in III/1.4. that Arabic verbs are used in Ghomara Berber and that they are inflected according to MA morphology. The intensive marking is achieved by the intensive particle *ka* combined with the imperfectum as we will see in the following examples.

001.	*dayman*	*ka*	*n-ṭlaqa-w*	*linsan*	*ahen*
	always	INP-AR	1p-meet-1p/IMP-AR	person	sm/DISD
	“we allways meet that person”				

002.	*wa*	*ka*	*y-bqa*	*laxri*
	sm/RELD	INP-AR	3sm-remain/IMP-AR	last
	“the one who remains last”			

003. *daiman* *ka* *ne-ḥšem*
always INP-AR 2sm-being ashamed/IMP-AR
“I am always ashamed”

004. *kedžin* *ka* *te-qra* *lžarida*
2sm/PRO INP-AR 2sm-read/IMP-AR newspaper
“you read the newspaper”

005. *netta* *ka* *ye-ṣber* *iδ* *es*
3sm/PRO INP-AR 3sm-be patient/IMP-AR COMPR 3sm/PREP
“he is patient with him”

3. The verb “to be”

In Ghomara Berber there are a number of constructions that cover the use of the English verb “to be”. These constructions are used for different tenses and aspects: the present, future and past tense and the intensive aspect. We will discuss the constructions that we have found through our research.

The constructions used for the present tense are non-verbal, verbal or participial constructions. As for the past tense, a verbal and a participial construction is used. For the future tense only a verbal construction is used. Finally, a verbal and participial construction is used for the intensive aspect. We have summarized these constructions in the following table.

Table 011. The verb “to be”

	present	**past**	**future**	**intensive**
non-verbal	non-verbal			
verbal	*ll~a* (P)	*ag* (PSP) + *ll~a* (P)	*ša* (FUT) + *ll* (A)	*tili* (I)
participial	*illan* (PTC/P)	*ag* (PSP) + *illan* (PTC/P)		*itilin* (PTC/I)
	igan (PTC/P) + DO			

We will examine these constructions in this subparagraph. We will furthermore look into the use of *ll* “be” as an auxiliary verb and the use of the past particle *ag*. Finally, we will discuss the Arabic loans regarding the verb “to be”.

3.1. Present tense

In this subparagraph we will discuss frequently used constructions that cover the use of a form of the English verb “to be” in the present tense.

3.1.1. Non-verbal construction

The non-verbal construction or non-verbal sentence consists of a subject and a predicate. The predicate is either a nominal, prepositional or adverbial phrase. The subject is linked to the predicate without a copula (see VI/1.).

001. *netta* *mɛellem*
3sm/PRO expert/PTC-AR
“he is an expert”

002. *i-βaw-en* *zḍu* *t-rḥab-t*
EL/pm-beans-pm under EA/sf-ground-sf
“beans are under the ground”

003. *a-xeyyam* *bɛid* *zg* *w-asif*
EL/sm-house far ABLPR EA/sm-river
“the house is far from the river”

004. *ma* *ga* *sen* *walu* *n* *ti-sker-t*
NEG LOCPR 3p/PREP nothing GENPR EA/sf-garlic-sf/coll
“there is no garlic in them”

3.1.2. Verbal construction

In the verbal construction the preterite stem of the verb *ll* “be” is used to express the present tense of the verb “to be”.

001. *amça* *yi-ll* *lmuškil* *aθ*
how 3sm-be/P problem sm/PRD
“what is this problem (like)?”

002. *lli* *ma* *h-ell* *ši* *smin-a*
sm/RELD-AR NEG 3sf-be/P NEG fat-sf/ADJ-AR
“(the) one that is not fat”

003. *i-san-en* *inu* *ma* *lla-n* *ši* *nišan*
EL/pm-tooth-pm 1s/POSS NEG be-3p/P NEG straight
“my teeth are not straight”

3.1.3. Participial constructions

There are two participial constructions for the verb “to be” in the present tense. The first is *illan*, which is derived from the verb *ll* “be” (local). The participle *illan* is used to mark the local sens of “to be”. The second is *igan*, which is derived from the verb *iga* “be” (existential). The participle *igan* is used to indicate the existential sense of “to be”. The participle *igan* has a more restricted use then *illan* as we will see in the following. In both cases the preterite stem is used.

3.1.3.1. The participle *illan*

001. *wa* *y-tɣima-n* *laxri* *waniθ* *i-lla-n* *a-meddakul* *inu*
sm/RELD PTC-stay-PTC/I last sm/ANAPH PTC-be-PTC/P EL/sm-friend 1s/POSS
“the one who stays behind, he is the one who is my friend”

002. *whadi* *ay* *i-lla-n* *xeddam*
sm/PRD FOC PTC-be-PTC/P working
“this one is the one that works”

3.1.3.2. The participle *igan*

The participle *igan* expresses a state; to be someone or something.[61] This participle seems to have become idiomatic. The verb from which it has been derived is not used as far as we know. This participle is always used with a direct object and only in relative sentences. The participle has a focalisation function in relative sentences. The following examples illustrate this.

001. *waniθ* *a* *θ* *i-ga-n* *a-meddakul* *inu*
sm/ANAPH RLV 3sm/DO PTC-be-PTC/P EL/sm-friend 1s/POSS
"that is the one who is my friend"

002. *ška* *θ* *i-ga-n* *a-rgʲaz* *a* *yθ* *i-fk-en*
who 3sm/DO PTC-be-PTC/P EL/sm-man RLV 1s/DO PTC-give-PTC/P

leflus
money
"who is the man who gave me money?"

003. *ška* *n* *i-ga-n* *ti-mɣar-an* *ara* *ddu-n* *dar* *ṭiṭwan*
who 3p/DO PTC-be-PTC/P EL/pf-woman-pf FUT go-3p/A ALPR PLN
"who are the women who will go to Tétouan"

004. *ssbaɛ* *netta* *y* *θ* *i-ga-n* *i-kṣuḍ* *zga* *s*
lion 3sm/PRO RLV 3sm/DO PTC-be-PTC/P 3sm-be afraid/P ABLPR 3sm/PREP
"the lion, he is the one he feared"

005. *yal* *lḥila* *a* *t* *i-ga-n*
one trick RLV 3sf/DO PTC-be-PTC/P
"one trick, it is"

[61] Cf. Abdallah El Mountassir, *Initiation au Tachelhit: Langue Berbère du sud du Maroc* (Casablanca: Afrique Orient, 2004), p. 168. See also the dedications.

3.2. Past tense

The constructions for the past tense are characterized by the use of the past particle *ag* (see III/3.6.). This article is used either with preterite stem of the verb *ll* or with the preterite stem of the participle *illan*.

3.2.1. Verbal construction

001. *wa* *g* *i-ll* *ɣar* *s* *bezzaf*
even though PSP 3sm-be/P ALPR 3sm/PREP many
"even though he had many" (litt.: "even though there were many with him")

002. *ta-meṭṭu-t* *a* *ç* *t-ell* *t-etɛumm* *hiya* *yemma*
EL/sf-woman-sf RLV PSP 3sf-be/P 3sf-swim/I 3sf/PRO-AR mother-1s/ADN
"the woman who was swimming is my mother"

003. *a-šnekkaf* *iδ* *u-gʲdi* *ag* *ella-n* *maši*
EL/sm-hedgehog COPR EA/sm-jackal PSP be-3p/P walking/PTC-AR
"the hedgehog and the jackal were walking"

004. *ana* *ç* *te-lla-t*
where PSP 2s-be-2s/P
"where were you?"

005. *ti-meṭṭu-tan* *illa* *ma* *g* *ella-n* *ši*
EL/pf-woman-pf RLV FUT PSP be-3p/P NEG

t-ɛumm-en *huma* *ti-ɛeyyal-an* inu
3p-swim-3p/I 3sm/PRO-AR EL/pf-child-pf 1s/POSS
"the women who were not swimming are my daughters"

006. *a-rgʲaz* *illa* *ma* *g* *i-ll* *ši*
EL/sm-man RLV FUT PSP 3sm-be/P NEG

i-tɛumm *huwa* *baba*
3sm-swim/I 3sm/PRO-AR father-1s/ADN
"the man who was not swimming is my father"

007. *nettaθa* *g* *i-lla-n* *ta* *y-muqqr-en*
3sf/PRO RLV PSP PTC-be-PTC/P sf/RELD PTC-be big-PTC/P
"she was the one who was the biggest"

3.2.2. Participial construction

001. *ti-mγar-an* *a* *g* *i-lla-n* *tɛumm-en* *hum*
EL/pf-woman-pf RLV PSP PTC-be-PTC/P swim-3p/I 3sm/PRO-AR

tayθ-ma-θan *inu*
pf-sister-pf/ADN 1s/POSS
"the women who were swimming are my sisters"

002. *a-rgʲaz* *a* *g* *i-lla-n* *qarm* *atgʲam*
EL/sm-man RLV PSP PTC-be-PTC/P silent-sm/ADJ yesterday
"the man who was being silent yesterday"

003. *a-šnekkaf* *iδ* *u-gʲdi* *ag* *i-lla-n* *maši*
EL/sm-hedgehog COPR EA/sm-jackal PSP PTC-be-PTC/P walking/PTC-AR
"the hedgehog and the jackal were walking"

004. *nettaθa* *g* *i-lla-n* *ta* *y-muqqr-en*
3sf/PRO RLV PSP PTC-be-PTC/P sf/RELD PTC-be big-PTC/P
"she was the one who was the biggest"

3.3. Future tense

The aorist stem of the verb *ll* is used for the future tense of the verb "to be". The following example is the only example we have of this.

001. *fhayweç* *ša* *lli* *ta-meɣr-a*
when FUT 3sf-be/A EL/sf-wedding-sf
"when will the wedding be?"

3.4. Intensive aspect

The intensive stem is used for the verbal and participial form of the verb *ll*. Since the intensive is an aspect and not a tense it does not have a temporal function. It rather has a habitative function. We therefore translate the verbal construction as "to be usually" and the participial construction as "being".

3.4.1. Verbal construction

001. *t-tili* *lɣilla* *n* *ti-sker-t* *zḍu* *t-rḥab-t*
3sf-be/I crops GENPR EA/sf-garlic-sf/coll under EA/sf-ground-sf
"the crops of a garlic plant usually are under the ground"

002. *ma* *tili-n* *ga* *sen* *walu*
NEG be-3p/I LOCPR 3p/PREP nothing
"there is usually nothing in them"

003. *waytu* *a-xeyyam* *a* *h-tili-t* *g* *as*
what kind EL/sm-house RLV 2s-be-2s/I LOCPR 3sm/PREP
"in what kind of house do you live?" (litt.: "in what kind of house are you being usually")

004. *an* *i-tili* *a-çma* *ç*
where 3sm-be/I EL/sm-brother 2sm/ADN
"where does your brother live?" (litt.: "where is your brother being")

3.4.2. Participial construction

001. *ti-mɣar-an* *i-tili-n* *sakt-in*
EL/pf-woman-pf PTC-be-PTC/I silent-pf/ADJ-AR
"the women who are being silent"

002. *ta-meṭṭu-t* *i-tili-n* *qarm-a*
EL/sf-woman-sf PTC-be-PTC/I quiet-sf/ADJ-AR
"the woman who is being silent"

003. *a-rgʲaz* *i-tili-n* *sakit*
EL/sm-man PTC-be-PTC/I silent-sm/ADJ-AR
"the man who is being silent"

3.5. The verb *ll* as an auxiliary verb

The verb *ll* functions as an auxiliary verb on a number of occasions. We will discuss the functions with regard to the intensive and stative. In the table below we have summarized the use of *ll* as an auxiliary verb based on our corpus.

Table 012. The verb "to be" as an auxiliary verb

	past tense	**future tense**	**imperative mood**
intensive	*ag* (PSP) + *ll~a* (P) + I		
stative	*ag* (PSP) + *ll~a* (P) + STAT (P)	*ša* (FUT) + *ll* (A) + STAT (A)	*ll* (IMP) + STAT (A)

3.5.1. Past tense of intensive aspect

As we have mentioned before, the intensive aspect does not comprise a temporal aspect in itself. The verb *ll* with the past particle *ag* is therefore used to mark the past tense of the intensive aspect. The following examples attest to this.

001. *ta-meṭṭu-t* *a* *ç* *t-ell* *t-etɛumm* *hiya* *yemma*
EL/sf-woman-sf RLV PSP 3sf-be/P 3sf-swim/I 3sf/PRO-AR mother-1s/ADN
"the woman who was swimming is my mother"

002. *ag* *i-ll* *i-tsiyyab*
PSP 3sm-be/P 3sm-throw/I
"he was throwing"

3.5.2. Stative verbs

The verb *ll* as an auxiliary verb also functions as temporal modifier with regard to stative verbs. We will discuss the attested past tense and future tense. Furthermore, it is used for the imperative mood of stative verbs as we will see.

3.5.2.1. Past tense

001. *nekkin* *atgʲam* *ag* *ella-x* *lluẓ-ex*
1s/PRO yesterday PSP be-1s/P be hungry-1s/P[62]
"yesterday I was hungry"

002. *ag* *i-ll* *i-ḥma*
PSP 3sm-be/P 3sm-be warm/P
"he was warm"

3.5.2.2. Future tense

001. *nekkin* *alaẓen* *ša* *ll-ex* *lluẓ-ex*
1s/PRO tomorrow FUT be-1s/A be hungry-1s/A
"tomorrow I will be hungry"

[62] To be in a hungry state.

3.5.2.3. Imperative mood

001. *ell* *t-eḥma-t*
be-2s/IMP 3sm-be warm/A
“be warm!”

3.6. The past particle *ag*

The past particle *ag* is always used in combination with the preterite aspect of the verb *ll*. This particle indicates the past tense. Note that in the second person singular and plural the past particle *ag* becomes *aç*. This is therefore considered to be an allomorph of the past particle *ag*.

001. *netta* *ag* *i-ll* *meẓẓi*
3sm/PRO PSP 3sm-be/P small-sm/ADJ
“he was small”

002. *a-šnekkaf* *iδ* *u-g^{j}di* *ag* *ella-n* *maši*
EL/sm-hedgehog COPR EA/sm-jackal PSP be-3p/P walking/PTC-AR
“the hedgehog and the jackal were walking”

003. *wa* *g* *i-ll* *ɣar* *s* *bezzaf*
even though PSP 3sm-be/P ALPR 3sm/PREP many
“even though he had many” (litt.: “even though there were many with him”)

004. *ana* *ç* *te-lla-t*
where PSP 2s-be-2s/P
“where were you?”

005. *ta-meṭṭu-t* *aç* *t-ell* *t-etɛumm* *hiya* *yemma*
EL/sf-woman-sf PSP 3sf-be/P 3sf-swim/I 3sf/PRO-AR mother-1s/ADN
“the woman who was swimming is my mother”

3.7. Arabic loans

We do not have many examples of Arabic loans with regard to the verb "to be". The following examples shows the use of the MA participle *kayn*.

001.	*ma*	*kayn*	*ši*	*bezzaf*	*n*	*i-tšawtšaw-en*	*gʲenna*
	NEG	be-sm/PTC-AR	NEG	many	GENPR	EA/pm-bird-pm	above
	"there are not many birds in the sky"						

002.	*kayn*	*xarebbi*	*n*	*elwaḥš*	*g*	*ya-γil*
	be-sm/PTC-AR	many	GENPR	animals	GENPR	EA/sm-mountain-sm
	"there are many animals on the mountain"					

In the following example the verb *kan* "to be" is used as an auxiliary verb.[63]

003.	*xessa*	*nax*	*a*	*n-kun*	*šterh-u*
	3sm-need/P	1p/IO	PROS	1pm-be-1pm/IMP-AR	1p-cooperate-1p/IMP-AR
	"we should be working together"				

[63] Cf. O. Khalil, 'Les origines de l'Être dans la langue arabe', in *Cahiers du Scribe* 1 (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008), pp. 44-45. See also Sobelman, *A dictionary of Moroccan Arabic*, s.v. be.

IV. PRONOUNS

1. Independent pronouns

In Ghomara Berber there are nine personal pronouns; five singular pronouns and three plural pronouns. There is no gender differentiation in the plural. The first and second person singular have a number of shortened forms which are used interchangeably with their unshortened counterparts. The *ç* in the first person plural and the third person plural is sometimes debuccalized and becomes *h* (see I/1.1.3.2.).

Table 013. Independent pronouns

	personal pronouns	**shortened**
1s	*nekkin*	*nekk, nekki*
2sm	*kedžin*	*kedž, kedži*
2sf	*kemmin*	*kemmi*
3sm	*netta*	
3sf	*nettaθa*	
1p	*nuçna*	
2p	*kunna*	
3p	*niçma*[64]	

2. Direct objects

Direct objects are divided into two categories: direct objects as postverbal clitics and direct objects as preverbal clitics. In the following, we will give surveys of these objects with examples of their use.

2.1. Postverbal clitic

Table 014. below presents the direct objects as clitics in postverbal position. The clitics are preceded by vowel *a* after sequences of two consonants or a geminate consonant as the following examples show.

[64] In Bni Menṣur people use *niçnam* for the third person plural of the personal pronoun.

001. *ufa-x* *θ* *i-dda*
find-1s/P 3sm/DO 3sm-go/P
“I found (him) that he had gone”

002. *i-šedd* *as* *ten*
3sm-bind/P 3sm/IO 3p/DO
“he tied them (for him)”

003. *ma* *h-efk* *ay* *ši*
NEG 3sf-give/P 1s/IO NEG
“she did not give to me”

004. *i-tett* *ahen*
3sm-eat/I 3p/DO
“he is eating them”

There are some examples in which the female singular of the direct object in postverbal position becomes *teθ*.[65]

005. *γars-en* *teθ*
slaughter-3p/P 3sf/DO
“they slaughtered it”

006. *šša-n* *teθ*
eat-3p/P 3sf/DO
“they ate it”

The first person plural of the direct object *-naγ* sometimes becomes devoiced and thus becomes *-naç*. The third person plural of the direct object *-ten* often becomes spirantized (see I/1.1.1.1.) or debuccalized (see I/1.1.1.2.).

[65] In Colins texts there are two examples of this; Text II: *ufanteθ* “they found it” and Text III: *ifkasteθ* “he gave it to him”. Since in other comparable cases the direct object *t* does not become *teθ*, the reason behind this change remains unclear and needs further investigation. Colin, ‘Le parler berbère’, Texts II and III, pp. 52 and 54.

Table 014. Direct objects as postverbal clitics

1s	*-y*	*issn-ay*	“he knows me”
2sm	*-ç*	*issn-aç*	“he knows you”
2sf	*-m*	*issn-am*	“he knows you (f.)”
3sm	*-θ*	*issn-aθ*	“he knows him”
3sf	*-t*	*issn-at*	“he knows her”
1p	*-naγ*	*issn-anaç*	“he knows us”
2p	*-wen*	*issn-awen*	“he knows you (p.)”
3p	*-ten*	*issn-aθen*	“he knows them”

The second person plural of the direct object coincides with the second person plural of the indirect object.[66] In most other Berber languages the second person plural of the direct object contains the morpheme for the second person *k* or an evident remnant of old *k*. In Tashelhiyt for example, we have *k*^{w}*n* and *k*^{w}*nt* (f.) for the second person plural of the direct object and *awn* and *awnt* (f.) for the second person plural of the indirect object.[67] Tamazight (Aït Ndhir) has *kun*/*kwen* and *kwenθ*/*šenθ* (f.) for the second person plural of the direct object and *awn* and *ašenθ* (f.) for the second person plural of the indirect object.[68] Tarifiyt (Figuig) has *šnim* and *šnimti* (f.) for the second person plural of the direct object and *awim* (*awem*, *awit*) and *ašemt*/*awimt* (f.) for the second person plural of the indirect object.[69]

2.2. Preverbal clitic

Attraction of direct objects is accomplished by various elements (see VI/3.2.). These elements have all in common final vowel *a*. It is therefore difficult to establish whether an initial *a* is part of the direct object in preverbal position. If it would have an initial *a* initially, this vowel would be lost as a result of the sequencing vowels namely the final vowel *a* of the preverbal element, which caused the attraction of the direct object and the initial *a* of the direct object in preverbal position. We have one example which shows that the direct objects as preverbal clitics do not include an initial vowel *a*.

[66] Compare the tables in this section: table 014. with table 016. and table 015. with table 017.
[67] Van den Boogert, *Tashelhiyt Berber of South Morocco*, p. 11.
[68] Bisson, *Leçons de Berbère*, p. 9.
[69] Kossmann, *Grammaire du parler berbère*, pp. 177-182.

001. *ddu-x* *ne* *šš-ex*
go-1s/A 3p/DO eat-1s/A
“I will go and eat them”

A conspicuous feature of the preverbal clitic of the first person singular is that between the pronoun and the verb with an initial vowel insertion of *θ* is obligatory (see I/4.).

Table 015. Direct objects as preverbal clitics

1s	*y-*	*ša yθ-iwweθ*	“he will hit me”
2sm	*ç-*	*ša ç-iwweθ*	“he will hit you”
2sf	*m-*	*ša m-iwweθ*	“he will hit you (f.)”
3sm	*θ-*	*ša θ-iwweθ*	“he will hit him”
3sf	*t-*	*ša t-iwweθ*	“he will hit her”
1p	*γn-*	*ša γn-iwweθ*	“he will hit us”
2p	*wn-*	*ša wn-iwweθ*	“he will hit you (p.)”
3p	*n-*	*ša n-iwweθ*	“he will hit them”

2.3. Arabic loans

In some cases Arabic direct objects are used in combination with Arabic verbs. These Arabic direct objects are never used in combination with Ghomara Berber verbs.

001. *nekkin* *ka* *n-ṭlaqa* *hum*
1s/PRO INP-AR 1s-meet/IMP-AR 3p/DO-AR
“I meet them”

002. *netta* *ka* *y-ṭlaqa* *ni*
3sm/PRO INP-AR 1s-meet/IMP-AR 1s/DO-AR
“he meets me”

003. *nuçna* *qri-na* *h*
1p/PRO read-2p/PRF-AR 3sm/DO-AR
“we read it”

004. *nekkin* *dayman* *ka* *ne-qra* *ha*
1s/PRO always INP-AR read-2p/PRF-AR 3sf/DO-AR
“we always read it”

3. Indirect objects

As is the case with the direct objects, the indirect objects are also of two types: indirect objects as postverbal clitics and indirect objects as preverbal clitics. We will discuss the nature and use of these indirect objects in the following.

3.1. Postverbal clitics

The examples of the use of the indirect objects as postverbal clitics show that they include the initial vowel *a*.

001. *nekk* *qqra-ɣ* *as*
1s/PRO say-1s/I 3sm/IO
“I was telling him”

002. *i-xess* *anaç* *a* *n-ebṭu*
3sm-need/P 1p/IO PROS 1p-divide/A
“we need to divide”

The initial vowel *a* of the direct object is lost in postverbal position in the case of a verb with a final vowel. The following examples attest to this.

Table 016. Indirect objects as postverbal clitics

1s	*-ay*	*inna-y*	“he said to me”
2sm	*-aç*	*inna-ç*	“he said to you”
2sf	*-am*	*inna-m*	“he said to you (f.)”
3sm	*-as*	*inna-s*	“he said to him”
3sf	*-as*	*inna-s*	“he said to her”
1p	*-anaɣ*	*inna-naɣ*	“he said to us”
2p	*-awen*	*inna-wen*	“he said to you (p.)”
3p	*-asen*	*inna-sen*	“he said to them”

3.2. Preverbal clitics

The following table presents the indirect objects as clitics in preverbal position. In most cases they coincide with their postverbal counterparts except the first person plural; *aɣen* instead of *anaɣ*. As with the direct objects, a *θ* is inserted between the preverbal clitic of the first person singular and the verb with an initial vowel (see I/4.).

Table 017. Indirect objects as preverbal clitics

1s	*ay-*	*ša yθ-iberreḥ*	“he will call me”
2sm	*aç-*	*ša ç-iberreḥ*	“he will call you”
2sf	*am-*	*ša m-iberreḥ*	“he will call you (f.)”
3sm	*as-*	*ša s-iberreḥ*	“he will call him”
3sf	*as-*	*ša s-iberreḥ*	“he will call her”
1p	*aɣen-*	*ša ɣn-iberreḥ*	“he will call us”
2p	*awen-*	*ša wn-iberreḥ*	“he will call you (p.)”
3p	*asen-*	*ša sn-iberreḥ*	“he will call them”

4. Prepositional suffixes

The following suffixes are used after prepositions. The first person plural of the direct object *-naγ* becomes *-naç* due to devoicing in some cases. The second person singular masculine *k* becomes *ç* in most cases as a result of spirantization (see I/1.1.3.1).

Table 018. Prepositional suffixes

1s	…*-i*	*idda d daγr-i*	“he came to me”
2sm	…*-k*	*idda d daγr-eç*	“he came to you”
2sf	…*-m*	*idda d daγr-em*	“he came to you (f.)”
3sm	…*-s*	*idda d daγr-es*	“he came to him”
3sf	…*-s*	*idda d daγr-es*	“he came to her”
1p	…*-naγ*	*idda d daγer-naç*	“he came to us”
2p	…*-un*	*idda d daγr-un*	“he came to you (p.)”
3p	…*-sen*	*idda d daγer-sen*	“he came to them”

5. Possessive suffixes

The following possessive suffixes are not only used as suffixes in possessive constructions but they also appear in an independent form as possessive pronouns. The second person singular masculine *nnek* becomes *nneç* in most cases as a result of spirantization (see I/1.1.3.1).

Table 019. Possessive suffixes

1s	…*-inu*	*tiɛiyyalan-inu*	“my daughters”
2sm	…*-nnek*	*tiɛiyyalan-enneç*	“your daughters”
2sf	…*-nnem*	*tiɛiyyalan-ennem*	“your (f.) daughters”
3sm	…*-nnes*	*tiɛiyyalan-ennes*	“his daughters”
3sf	…*-nnes*	*tiɛiyyalan-ennes*	“her daughters”
1p	…*-nnaç*	*tiɛiyyalan-ennaç*	“our daughters”
2p	…*-nnun*	*tiɛiyyalan-ennun*	“your (p.) daughters”
3p	…*-nnsen*	*tiɛiyyalan-ennsen*	“their daughters”

6. Adnominal suffixes

In general, the possessive pronouns discussed above are also used in possessive constructions of kinship terms. In some cases the so-called adnominal suffixes are used for the singular person. This is rare though and preference is given to the possessive construction.

Table 020. Adnominal suffixes

1s	…*-ø*	*açma*	“my brother”
2sm	…*-ç*	*açma-ç*	“your brother”
2sf	…*-m*	*açma-m*	“your (f.) brother”
3sm	…*-s*	*açma-s*	“his brother”
3sf	…*-s*	*açma-s*	“her brother”

7. Demonstrative pronouns

7.1. Proximal deixis

The postpositions of the proximal deixis appear in different variants as shown in the table below. The same goes for the independent forms. We have also listed the reinforced forms which are occasionally

used for stress. After a vowel, the postposition singular becomes *y*, *ya* or *yaθ* in most cases, in a few cases it is *d*.

Table 021. Proximal deixis

	postpositions	**variants**	**reinforced**	**independent**	**variants**
sm	*-ad*	*-a, -adi, -adin*	*-aduha*	*whadi*	*whadin*
sf	*-ad*	*-a, -adi, -adin*	*-attha*[70]	*thadi*	*thadin, tha, θa*
p	*-id*	*-idin*	*-iduhi*	*whidi*	*whidin*

axeyyamad qδim f wani	“this house is older than that one”
ṭablaya dahma	“this table is brown”
i men lmaklayaθ	“for whom is this food?”
tibratanid	“these letters”
fhayweç ša ffɣen timɣaranidin	“when are these women going to leave?”
afullusaduha	“this cock, this one”
taɛeyyaltattha	“this girl, this one”
šḥal ay txelset whadi	“how much did you pay for this?”
maši whadin wayeṭ	“not this one (m.), but the other one (m.)”
maši thadin tayeṭ	“not this (f.) one, but the other one (f.)”
maši whidin wiyyeṭ	“not these ones, but the other ones”

7.2. Distal deixis

The table below shows the different forms of the distal deixis. In the postpositions there is no gender distinction while in the other forms there is gender as well as distinction in number. The reinforced forms of the distal deixis are a combination of the postpositions and independent forms of the distal deixis.

[70] Based on the other reinforced postpositions of the proximal deixis *attha* is a contraction of *ad* and *tha* which becomes *attha* due to assimilation.

Table 022. Distal deixis

	postpositions	reinforced	independent	shortened
sm	*-an*	*-an wanit*	*wanit*	*wan, wani*
sf	*-an*	*-an tanit*	*tanit*	*tan, tani*
p	*-in*	*-in winit*	*winit*	*win, wini*

axeyyaman wanit	“that house, that one”
tameṭṭutan feqsana	“that woman is sad”
tabratan tanit	“that letter, that one”
taɛeyyaltan tan	“that girl, that one”
tiwfalanin winit	“those eggs, those ones”
škun a hum tiɛiyyalanin	“who are those girls?”
axeyyamad qδim f wani	“this house is older than that one”

7.3. Relative deixis

The table below presents the relative deixis. The shortened forms seem to be used before a vowel, but the examples are too few to draw certain conclusions.

Table 023. Relative deixis

	independent	shortened
sm		*wa*
sf		*ta*
p	*win*	*wi*

wa ytɣiman laxri	“the one who lags behind”
nettaθa a g illan ta ymuqqren	“she is the biggest” (litt.: “she is the one who is big”)
nihma wi ymuqqren	“they are the biggest” (litt.: “they are the ones who are big”)
win n ug^{j}di se ššɛar	“the ones of the jackal have fur”
win ennes s isennanen	“the ones of him have spines”

7.4. Anaphoric deixis

On the basis of the collected texts we have derived the following forms of the anaphoric deixis.

Table 024. Anaphoric deixis

	postpositions	**variants**	**independent**
sm	*-an*	*-ani*	*wanit*
sf			
p	*-in*		

iṭlaqa i ssiyyedani	“he met with that man (mentioned)”
ɛawed ššan lḥamani	“again, they ate that meat (mentioned)”
fi želdan	“on that skin (mentioned)”
amça hgget i ṣebbatin	“how will you make those shoes (mentioned)”
waniθ illan ameddakul inu	“that one (mentioned) is my friend”

8. Interrogatives

In this paragraph we will discuss the different interrogatives used in Ghomara Berber. We will first look into the non-prepositional interrogatives. This category consists of prepositions of Arabic and prepositions of Berber origin. The added value of distinguishing between the two is marginal at this point. We will therefore present them without distinguishing between Arabic and Berber interrogatives. Furthermore, we will discuss the so-called prepositional interrogatives.

8.1. Non-prepositional interrogatives

8.1.1. Interrogative *škun* “who, which”

The interrogative *škun* has an allomorph *ška* which seems to be used before preverbal elements like *ara* and *a*.

škun argʲaz ara yθ ifk leflus	“which man will give me money?”
škun a s ɨxessen a ddu dar ṭiṭwan	“who is the one who wants to go to Tétouan?”
a škun a hum tiɛeyyalanin	“who are those girls?”
ška ra ddu dar ṭiṭwan	“who will go to Tétouan?”
ška ra ç iẓar alaẓen	“who will see you tomorrow?”
ška yillan ma ra ɣn iẓar alaẓen	“who is the one who will not see us tomorrow?”

8.1.2. Interrogative *šwa* “what”

šway x ṭayfur	“what is on the table?”
šwa ra hzenzet g ssuq	“what are you going to sell on the market?”
šwa ra bbet a ɛammi agʲdi	“what are you going to take uncle jackal?”

8.1.3. Interrogative *liyaš* “why”

liyaš ara ntiq zgaç	“why should I trust you?”
liyaš heddat dar uxeyyam nneç	“why did you go to your house?”
liyaš a httrut a taɛeyyalt	“why are you crying little girl?”

8.1.4. Interrogative *amça* “how”

amça hrzet šebbaç	“how did you break the window?”
amça kay tekteb lism enneç	“how do you write your name?”
amça ddiren imelḥan g lebḥar	“how do fish live in the sea?”

8.1.5. Interrogative *fhayweç* “when”

fhayweç nṭlaqay	“when will we meet each other?”
fhayweç ša ffɣen timɣaraniδin	“when will these women leave?”
fhayweç ahlekmet	“when did you arrive?”

8.1.6. Interrogative *ani* "where"

ani lgezzar	"where is the butcher?"
ani tili çmaç	"where does your brother live?"
an ahṭṭset llila n watgʲam	"where did you sleep last night?"

8.1.7. Interrogative *layn* "whither"

layn ša ddum fsyir l leɛša	"where are you going after dinner?"
layn a yttuθu kun nnhar g be llil	"where does he go every night?"

8.2. Prepositional interrogatives

Prepositional interrogatives consist of non-composite prepositions (see V/1.) followed by *mmen* "what/who".

8.2.1. Dative preposition *i*

i men lmakla yaθ	"for whom is this food?"

8.2.2. Locative preposition *g*

g emmen a txemmameδ (!)	"what are you thinking about?"

8.2.3. Instrumental preposition *s*

s emmen a hqeṭɛet lḥem	"what did you cut the meat with?"

8.2.4. Implicative preposition *x*

x emmen a sawlet atgʲam	"what did you talk about yesterday?"

8.2.5. Comitative preposition *i*

i men a hɛeyaret atgʲam "with whom did you play yesterday?"

9. Arabic loans

9.1. Independent pronouns

Arabic independent pronouns are used to stress the subject in relative sentences.

argʲaz ay illan ma ši meqqur huwa baba "the man who is not big, he is my father"
tameṭṭut ad ɛeyyaθ hiya yemma "the woman who is tired, she is my mother"
irgʲazen itɛummen huma ayθma "the men who are swimming, they are my brothers"

9.2. Possessive pronouns

Some Arabic loans are always used in combination with Arabic possessive pronouns.

agʲdi idda fḥalu "the hedgehog went on his way"
ša wen qqnex g baɛṭkum "I will tie you (p.) to one another"
iqqim ssbaɛ das buḥdu "the lion stayed over there by himself"
leḥšam nn ɛammi kullahum "the children of my uncle, all of them"

9.3. Prepositional suffixes

The Arabic prepositional suffix is also in use in Ghomara Berber. When an Arabic preposition is used, application of Arabic prepositional suffixes is likely. Since Arabic prepositions are not much used in Ghomara Berber the Arabic prepositional suffix is rare in Ghomara Berber.

ma hxeddam alek ši "it does not work for you"

9.4. Direct objects

Arabic pronominal suffixes of the direct object are used with verbs that are subject to MA morphology (mainly verb inflection). The attested verbs are as follows.

a nfukkukum lmuškil	“we will solve the problem for you (p.)”
baš ixerrežha	“in order to get her out”
iṭlaqani dar uxeyyam	“he met me at the house”

V. PREPOSITIONS

In this section, we will discuss the different prepositions used in Ghomara Berber. We distinguish between non-composite and composite nouns that are composed of more than one preposition. We will first discuss the non-composite prepositions. We will then discuss the composite prepositions. Finally, we will discuss the borrowed prepositions.

1. Non-composite prepositions

1.1. Preposition *i*

Preposition *i* has three functions: dative, coordinative and comitative. Before a vowel preposition *i* becomes *iδ*. We consider *iδ* as an allomorph of *i*. We will discuss the three functions of this preposition. These functions cannot be sharply distinguished in all cases. Therefore, we have chosen examples in which this distinction is less ambiguous.

1.1.1. Dative preposition *i*

agʲdi innas i tmuda	"the jackal said to the pig"
nekkin bbaγ d lmakla i leḥšam inu	"I brought food for my children"
nekkin ma ra fkex ši lmakla iδ umušš	"I will not give food to the cat"
innas ašnekkaf iδ ugʲdi	"the hedgehog said to the jackal"

1.1.2. Coordinative preposition *i*

niçma i leḥšam nnsen	"they and their children"
nekkin iδ ugʲdi	"me and the jackal"
iδ ušnekkaf γars yal lḥila	"and the hedgehog has one trick"

1.1.3. Comitative preposition *i*

Comitative preposition *i* is positioned either before a noun or before a pronominal suffix. We will look into both forms in the following.

1.1.3.1. Before a noun

i men a hɛyaret	"with whom did you play?"
iṭlaqa i ssiyyedani	"he met with that man"
ša ddux i çma	"I will go with my brother"
i men d eddat atg^{j}am	"with whom did you come yesterday?"
iδ ug^{j}di	"with the jackal"

1.1.3.2. Before a pronominal suffix

qqimex iδes	"I sat with him"
a ddux iδun	"I will go with you (p.)"
isker iδi	"he made an appointment with me"
lmus ḥafi nekki nqder qetɛax iδes	"the knife is sharp, I am (therefore) able to cut with it"

1.2. Allative prepositions

There are four prepositions that have an allative function: *dar*, *daɣur*, *ɣar* and *ɛa*. We will discuss these four prepositions in the following subparagraphs.

1.2.1. Allative preposition *dar*

The allative preposition *dar* has a directional function ("towards") whereby the action is directed towards a certain location. It is only used before nouns and not before pronominal suffixes. This preposition is often used with a form of the verb *ddu* "go". The following examples attest to this.

idda dar hulanda	"he went to Holland"

ittuθu dar šṣ̌ham bin tiṭṭawan	"he is reaching for the fat between the eyes"
ddan dar tgg^{w}urt	"they went to the door"
liyaš heddat dar uxeyyam nneç	"why did you go to your house?"

1.2.2. Allative preposition *ɣar*

The allative preposition *ɣar* is comparable to the use of the MSA use of *ɛinda* (i.e. figurative use of allative). In addition, it can be used in the same way as *daɣur* (see below) including the use of pronominal suffixes. This preposition is only attested with pronominal suffixes.

ɣars ktar zgis	"he has more than him"
ɣark lḥaqq	"you are right"
ɣars ya wɛeyyal yallah ixleq	"she has a recently born child"
idda d ɣari	"he visited me"

1.2.3. Allative preposition *daɣur*

The allative preposition *daɣur* is somewhat comparable to the use of the French "chez". The prepositional object usually refers to individuals. Allative prepositions *daɣur* appears before nouns as well as before pronominal suffixes.

1.2.3.1. Before a noun

ša ddux daɣur ya werg^{j}az	"I will visit a man"
ag^{j}di idda d daɣur tmuda	"the jackal visited the pig"
bdan qarraben daɣur ssbaɛ	"they began approaching the lion"

1.2.3.2. Before a pronominal suffix

In the following examples the allative preposition *daɣur* has a pronominal suffix.

idda d daɣrem	"he visited you (f.)"

idda d daɣri	"he visited me"
idda d daɣrun	"he visited you (p.)"

1.2.4. Allative preposition *εa*

This preposition is not much used compared to the aforementioned allative prepositions. We have the following three examples in our corpus.

telkem d εa xemsa	"it was five o'clock" (litt.: "the clock arrived at five o'clock")
argʲaz εa wṭaliε	"the man is above" (litt.: "the man is on the top")
a d qqlex εa buḥmed	"I will return to Bu Aḥmed"

1.3. Genitive preposition *n*

A very common preposition is the genitive preposition *n* which is used on many occasions as the following examples illustrate.

1.3.1. Before a noun

lluli n usbuε	"the beginning of the week"
win n ugʲdi se ššεar	"the ones of the jackal have fur"
bezzaf n tεiyyalan	"many girls"
iqqar i leḥšam n tmuda	"he teaches the children of the pig"
ifrawen ma g asen walu n tiskert	"leaves do not have garlic on them"
ɣark ši n lḥilaθ	"do you have some tricks?"

In the following examples the genitive preposition *n* has assimilated to the Arabic definite article *l-* (see I/3.2.).

šḥal ɣareç l leḥšam	"how many kids do you have?"
tmenya i ɣar s l leḥšam	"she has eight children" (litt.: "eight, she has of children")

1.3.2. Before a pronominal suffix

The possessive pronouns consists of the genitive preposition *n* and a pronominal suffix (see IV/5.).

želd ennes rrṭab	“her skin is smooth”
kešmen gi lγar nnsen	“they went into their cave”
leḥšam enneç maɛrufin	“our children are well-known”

1.4. Implicative preposition *xf*

Implicative preposition *xf* appears in three forms: *xf*, *x* and *f*. We will discuss the use of each of these forms in the following.

1.4.1. Form *xf*

The implicative preposition *xf* is only used in combination with pronominal suffixes.

iṣeqṣa xfi	“he asked about me”
axfek	“on you”
ssbaɛ iḥaf xfes	“the lion grab hold of him”
iṣeqṣa xafnaγ	“he asked about us”
iṣeqṣa xafsen	“he asked about them”

1.4.2. Form *x*

Before a noun the form *x* or *f* of the implicative preposition is used. The following examples illustrate the use of form *x*.

xemmen a sawlet	“what are you talking about?”
netta yqqim x umenžur	“he sits on the chair”
šway x ṭayfur	“what is on the table?”
itɛayan x umeddakul nnes	“he was waiting for his friend”

iṣeqṣa x buḥmed[71]	"he asked about Bu Aḥmed"

1.4.3. Form *f*

Form *f* of the implicative preposition seems to have a more restricted use than form *x*. The following examples include the use with the verb *susem* "listen" and the comparative.[72]

a tsusem f leḥšam nnes	"she will listen to her children"
a tsusem f ṣṣdaɛ	"she will listen to the noise"
axeyyamad qδim f wani	"this house is older than that one"
axeyyamad meẓẓi f wani	"this house is smaller than that one"
nettaθa teggahen fe želdan	"she put it ont that leather"

1.5. Locative prepositions

1.5.1. Locative preposition *g*

The locative preposition *g* comes either before a noun or a pronominal suffix. In the following, we will discuss these forms.

1.5.1.1. Before a noun

wergex atgʲam gi nnawm	"I dreamt yesterday in (my) sleep"
šwa ra hzenzet g ssuq	"what are you going to sell on the market?"
nekkin ddrex g hulanda	"I live in Holland"
netta yqqim gi ddšar wayeṭ	"he stayed in another village"

[71] In one of Colins texts the verb *iṣeqṣa* "ask" is used with the form *f* of the implicative preposition: *ṣeqṣant leḥšam nugʲdi f babannsen* (transcription and orthography adjusted). Ibid., Text IV, p. 54.
[72] The use of the form *f* of the implicative preposition is more extensive in the texts of Colin (speech of Bni Menṣur). This form is used before nouns with the verbs *berreḥ* "call" (Ibid., Texts II, III and IV, pp. 53, 54 and 54.) δ*ri* "proceed" (Ibid., Text III , p. 53.) and *ṣeqṣa* "ask" (Ibid., Text IV, p. 54.).

1.5.1.2. Before a pronominal suffix

itxemmam gasen	“he is thinking of them”
rriyaḍ gas xarrebi n nuwwar	“there are many flowers in the garden”
waytu axeyyam htilit gas	“in what kind of house do you live?”

1.5.2. Locative preposition *d*

Locative preposition *d* is a rare locative preposition. We have the following examples in our corpus.

ðas šṣ̌am bezzaf	“there is very much fat in it”
di ssaɛaθ išebbr aθ	“after a while he caught him” (litt.: “in hours he grabbed him”)

1.6. Ablative preposition *zg*

Ablative preposition *zg* is the oppositional counterpart of the allative preposition *dar*.

1.6.1. Before a noun

niçma zg hulanda	“they are from Holland”
axeyyam bɛid zg wasif	“the house is far from the river”
nekkin kṣuḍex zg ya wergʲaz	“I was afraid of a man”

1.6.2. Before a pronominal suffix

liyaš ara ntiq zgaç	“why should I trust you?”
kṣaḍ zgas	“be afraid of him!”

The following example illustrates the comparative function of the ablative preposition *zg*.

netta çtar zgas	“he is bigger than him”

1.7. Instrumental preposition *s*

Preposition *s* has an exclusive instrumental function.

s emmen a hqeṭɛet	"what do you cut with?"
siwel se šš̈elḥa	"talk Berber"
ikkar s tiwfalan	"it is filled with eggs"

2. Composite prepositions

We distinguish between composite prepositions composed of locative preposition *g* and composite prepositions composed of instrumental preposition *s*. These composite prepositions consist in addition to the preposition of a noun that refers to a location. They act as locative prepositions, but with a more specific character than locative preposition *g*. We will discuss both types of composite prepositions in the following subparagraphs.

2.1. Composition with locative preposition *g*

2.1.1. Composite preposition *g^{w}um n* "in front of"

Composite preposition *g^{w}um n* consists of three elements. The first element is the locative preposition *g*. The second element is *am* (or perhaps *um*). This element refers obviously to a frontal location. Finally, the genitive preposition connects the first two elements to the noun or pronominal suffix.

nekkin g^{w}um n uxeyyam	"I am in front of the house"
g^{w}um inu	"near (me)" (litt.: "in front of me")
aç afeç g^{w}um n tmzida	"I will see you in front of the mosque"
g^{w}um n watg^{j}am ddax dar hulanda	"I went to Holland the day before yesterday"

2.1.2. Composite preposition *g^{w}ammas n* "in the middle of"

Composite preposition *g^{w}ammas n* consists also of three elements whereby the first and the last are identical to the ones of the aforementioned preposition *g^{w}um n*. The second element *ammas* denotes a

central location. It is also used as an independent noun referring to the human waistline, which can be considered the centre of the human body.

ṭabla g^{w}ammas n imenžar	"the table is between the chairs"
aç tell g^{w}ammas l lebḥar yal lbaṭil	"there was a boat in the middle of the sea"

2.1.3. Composite preposition *g^{w}af n* "on top of"

The second element *af* in *g^{w}af n* evidently designates a top location. The first and the last element have the same function as in the aforementioned composite prepositions.

g^{w}af n yaγil das aδfel	"there is snow on top of the mountain"

2.1.4. Composite preposition *g^{j}enna* "above"

Composite preposition *g^{j}enna* exists of two elements. The first is the locative preposition *g*. The second element comes from *ag^{j}enna* "sky".[73] This composite preposition therefore designates an abstract upper location. It indeed refers in many cases to the sky as a location.

ma kayn ši bezzaf n itšawtšawen g^{j}enna	"there are not many birds in the sky"
igṭaḍ g^{j}enna	"birds are in the sky"
ša εallix g^{j}enna	"I will go up(stairs)"

2.2. Composition with instrumental preposition *s*

2.2.1. Composite preposition *zḍu* "under"

Composite preposition *zḍu* is composed of two elements: the implicative preposition *s* and the element *ddu* "under".[74] This preposition thus designates a lower location. Note that the instrumental preposition *s* has become voiced under the influence of *ddu* (see I/3.4.).

[73] Cf. Kossmann, *Grammaire du parler berbère*, p. 232.
[74] Cf. Van den Boogert, *Tashelhiyt Berber of South Morocco*, p. 16 and Mountassir, *Initiation au Tachelhit*, p. 167.

arg^{j}az zḍu ṭabla	“the man is under the table”
lɣilla n tiskert zḍu trḥabt	“garlic grows under the ground”
iβawen ma tilin ši zḍu trḥabt	“beans do not grow under the ground”

3. Arabic loans

A number of Arabic prepositions are used in Ghomara Berber in different ways. We will give a survey of the used prepositions and briefly discuss their use.

3.1. Arabic preposition *bayn* “between”

3.1.1. Before a noun

The preposition *bayn* and its monophthongized counterpart *bin* are used in the texts we have collected instead of the Berber variant *g^{w}ammas n,* which was the result of elicitation. This indicates that *bayn* designates the location between two elements or groups of elements while *g^{w}ammas n* designates the central location surrounded by more than two elements or an innumerable amount of elements. Obviously the line cannot be drawn very sharply in many cases and comparison of the examples below and the examples of the composite preposition *g^{w}ammas* makes clear that there is an overlay of the functions of these two prepositions.

The first example below is a good example of how the meaning of the sentence would change if the preposition *g^{w}ammas n* would have been used instead of *bayn*. Instead of between the two eyes the sentence would perhaps imply the centre of each of the two eyes.

ittuθu dar šššḥam bin tiṭṭawan	“he is reaching for the fat between the eyes”
yat tɛeyyalt twaqa bin ig^{j}ig^{j}en	“a girl is standing between trees”
dasi yaw xeyyam bayn iɣallen	“there is a house between the mountains”

3.1.2. Before a pronominal suffix

We have one example of the preposition *bayn* with a pronominal suffix. This pronominal suffix is Arabic.

baynaθna	“between us”

3.2. Arabic preposition *bi* "with"

Arabic preposition *bi* is used in a number of fixed expressions. The following fixed expressions attest to this.

iqqim ssbaɛ das buḥdu	"the lion stayed over there by himself"
niçma b zuž	"the two of them"
iṭaren nnes b arbɛa	"his legs, all four of them"

The following example is a fixed expression with the locative preposition *g* combined with the Arabic preposition *bi*. This is also attested in the speech of Bni Menṣur by Colin.[75]

layn a yttuθu ku nnhar g be llil	"where does he go every night"

3.3. Arabic preposition *bla* "without"

The negative counterpart of the comitative preposition *i* is the borrowed preposition *bla*. The following examples attest to this.

ša ddux bla çma	"I will go without my brother"
*xess ay a šše*x *bla lmešruba*	"I want to eat without drinking"
ša tedžem nekkin bla ši	"you (p.) leave me without anything"

3.4. Arabic preposition *fi* "in"

The Arabic preposition *fi* seems to be exclusively used in the frequently used fixed expression *fḥal* "on the way of".

nekkin qqleɣ d ɛla fḥali	"I went back on my way"
ndda fḥalek	"go on your own way!"
agʲdi idda fḥalu	"the jackal went on his way"

[75] Colin, 'Le parler berbère', Text IV, p. 54.

dda fḥala	“she went on her way”
ddan fḥalem	“they went on their way”

Note that the pronominal suffixes are Arabic in all cases.

VI. SYNTAX

In this section we will discuss a number of subjects pertaining to the field of syntax. First, we will discuss the non-verbal sentences and the negation of non-verbal sentences. Then we will discuss the verbal sentences and examine the preverbal elements and negation of verbal sentences. Furthermore we will discuss the phenomenon of attraction in Ghomara Berber. Finally, we will take a closer look at relative sentences. Because we are dealing with syntax we will present a syntactic structure with each element which constitute some change in the syntactic structure,

1. Non-verbal sentences

In non-verbal sentences the subject is usually linked to the nominal predicate without a copula (see also III/3.1.1.).[76]

Nominal phrase as predicate

[subject] - [predicate]

001. *kedžin* *a-meddakul* *inu*
2sm/PRO EL/sm-friend 1s/POSS
"you are my friend"

002. *ism* *ennes* *žamal*
name 3sm/POSS PNN
"his name is Jamal"

003. *das* *ššeffara*
there thieves
"there are thieves over there"

[76] The use of copula in Ghomara Berber seems to be very limited. It is only in Bni Menṣur that we have found an example of the use of a copula: *nhura δ rexmis* "today it is Thursday".

The predicate is also linked to the subject without a copula in non-verbal sentences in which the predicate is an adverbial phrase.

Adverbial phrase as predicate

[subject] - [predicate]

004. *netta* *ɛeyya*
3sm/PRO tired-sm/ADJ
"he is tired"

005. *a-xeyyam* *bɛid* *zg* *w-asif*
EL/sm-house far ABLPR EA/sm-river
"the house is far from the river"

006. *a-rgʲaz* *meqqur*
EL/sm-man big-sm/ADJ
"the man is big"

Finally, in non-verbal sentences in which the predicate is a prepositional phrase, the predicate is linked to the subject without a copula as the following examples show.

Prepositional phrase as predicate

[subject] - [predicate]

007. *i-βaw-en* *zḍu* *t-rḥab-t*
EL/pm-bean-pm under EA/sf-ground-sf
"beans are under the ground"

008. *γr* *un* *lḥaqq*
ALPR 2p/PREP right
"you (p.) are right"

009. *ɣar* *i* *yal* *lḥila*
ALPR 1s/PREP one trick
“I have one trick”

010. *dasi* *ya* *w-xeyyam* *bayn* *i-ɣall-en*
there INDEF EA/sm-house between EA/pm-mountain-pm
“there is a house between the mountains”

1.1 Negation of non-verbal sentences

Negation of non-verbal phrases is achieved by the negative element *ma* and the negative element *ši*. In nominal and adverbial phrases the two affixes act as the single element *maši*.

Nominal phrase as predicate

[subject] - [NEG] - [predicate]
maši

001. *nekkin* *maši* *a-meddakul* *enneç*
1s/PRO NEG EL/sm-friend 2sm/POSS
“I am not your friend”

Adverbial phrase as predicate

[subject] - [NEG] - [predicate]
maši

002. *netta* *maši* *meqqur*
3sm/PRO NEG big-sm/ADJ
“he is not big”

003. *ta-gg^{w}ur-t* *an* *maši* *tqil-a*
EL/sf-door-sf sf/DISD NEG heavy-sf/ADJ-AR
“that door is not heavy”

In prepositional phrases the negative element *ma* comes before the preposition including prepositional suffix and is followed by the negative element *ši*.

Prepositional phrase as predicate

[subject] - [NEG] - [PP] - [NEG] - [predicate]
ma ***ši***

004. *i-fraw-en* *ma* *ga* *sen* *ši* *n* *ti-sker-t*
EL/sm-leaf-sm/coll NEG LOCPR 3p/PREP NEG GENPR EA/sf-garlic-sf/coll
“garlic does not grow on leaves” (litt.: “leaves do not have garlic in them”)

005. *netta* *ma* *ɣar* *s* *ši* *lḥaqq*
3sm/PRO NEG ALPR 3sm/PREP NEG right
“he is not right”

006. *ma* *ga* *s* *ši* *n* *ta-δun-t*
NEG LOCPR 3sm/PREP NEG GENPR EA/sf-fat-sf
“it’s not fat” (litt.: “there is no fat in it”)

2. Verbal sentences

In this paragraph we will look into several aspects of verbal sentences. We will discuss the nature and use of the preverbal elements *ša*, *ara* and *a* and after that we will examine the negation of different types of verbal sentences.

2.1. Preverbal elements

2.1.1. Preverbal element *ša*

The preverbal element *ša* marks the future tense.

[FUT]	**-**	**[IO]**	**-**	**[DO]**	**-**	**[HITH]**	**-**	**[verb]**
ša								**A/IMP-AR**

001. *fhayweç ša lli ta-meγr-a*
when FUT 3sf-be/A EL/sf-wedding-sf
"when will the wedding be?"

002. *fhayweç ša melçe-t*
when FUT 2sm-marry-2sm/A
"when are you going to marry?"

003. *ša ɛalle-x g^{j}enna*
FUT go up-1s/A up
"I will go up"

004. *li'anna ša y t-šemθe-m*
because FUT 1s/IO 2p-trick-2p/A
"because you (p.) will trick me"

2.1.2. Preverbal element *a*

The preverbal element *a* marks the prospective mood, hortative mood as well as the future tense. When it's used to mark the future tense it is interchangeable with *ša* and can therefore be considered an allomorph of *ša*.

Prospective mood

[PROS]	**-**	**[IO]**	**-**	**[DO]**	**-**	**[HITH]**	**-**	**[verb]**
a								**A/IMP-AR**

001. *t-edda d a t-ṭella*
3sf-go/P HITH PROS 3sf-watch/A
“she came to watch”

002. *xess ay a n ẓra-x*
3sm-need/P 1s/IO PROS 3p/DO see-1s/A
“I need to see them”

003. *i-xess anaç a n-ebṭu*
3sm-need/P 1p/IO PROS 1p-divide/A
“we need to divide”

Hortative mood

[HOR]	**-**	**[IO]**	**-**	**[DO]**	**-**	**[HITH]**	**-**	**[verb]**
a								**A/IMP-AR**

004. *yallah a n-šterh-u*
HOR-s HOR 1p-to cooperate-1p/IMP-AR
“come on let’s work together”

Future tense

[FUT]	**-**	**[IO]**	**-**	**[DO]**	**-**	**[HITH]**	**-**	**[verb]**
a								**A/IMP-AR**

005. *a* *n-ẓall* *leɛša*
FUT 1p-pray/A nightprayer
"we will pray the nightprayer"

006. *a* *ddu-x* *a* *n* *šše-x*
FUT go-1s/A PROS 3p/DO eat-1s/A
"I will go and eat them"

007. *a* *hezz-ex* *lfakiha*
FUT shake-1s/A fruit/coll
"I will shake the fruit"

008. *a* *ddu-x* *iδ* *un*
FUT go-1s/A COMPR 2p/PREP
"I will go with you"

2.1.3. Preverbal element *ara*

Preverbal element *ara* also marks the future tense and can also be considered an allomorph of *ša*. In the case of negative, interrogative and relative sentences the preverbal element *ara* is used instead of *ša*. Interrogative *fhayweç* "when" forms an exception to this as we have seen (see VI/2.1.1./001., 002.).

[FUT]	**-**	**[IO]**	**-**	**[DO]**	**-**	**[HITH]**	**-**	**[verb]**
ara								**A/IMP-AR**

001. *ara* *gge-x* *ṣṣebbaṭ*
FUT make-1s/A shoes
"I will make shoes"

Relative sentences

[main clause] - [RLV] - [FUT] - [IO] - [DO] - [HITH] - [verb]
a ***ara*** **A/IMP-AR**

002. *a-rgʲaz* *ara* *yθ* *i-fk* *leflus* *huwa* *baba*
EL/sm-man RLV FUT 1s/IO 3sm-give/A money 3sm/PRO-AR father-1s/ADN
"the man who will give me money is my father"

003. *ti-mγar-an* *ara* *ddu-n* *dar* *ṭiṭwan*
EL/pf-woman-pf RLV FUT go-3p/A ALPR PLN
"the women who will go to Tétouan"

After interrogatives

[question word] - [FUT] - [IO] - [DO] - [HITH] - [verb]
ara **A/IMP-AR**

004. *šwa* *ra* *h-zenze-t* *g* *ssuq*
what FUT 2sm-sell-2sm/A LOCPR market
"what are you going to sell on the market?"

005. *ška* *ra* *ç* *i-ẓar* *alaẓen*
who FUT 2sm/DO 3sm-see/A tomorrow
"who will see you tomorrow?"

006. *liyaš* *ara* *n-tiq* *zg* *aç*
why FUT 1s-trust/IMP-AR ABLPR 2sm/PREP
"why should I trust you?"

After negative preverbal element *ma*

[NEG]	**[FUT]**	**[IO]**	**[DO]**	**[HITH]**	**[verb]**	**[NEG]**
ma	***ara***				**A/IMP-AR**	***ši***

007. *ma ra d i-ffeɣ ši*
NEG FUT HITH 3sm-leave/A NEG
"it will not come out"

008. *nekkin ma ra rri-x ši irden*
1s/PRO NEG FUT sow-1s/A NEG EL/wheat/coll
"I will not sow wheat"

009. *ma ra yt i-fk ši leflus*
NEG FUT 1s/IO 3sm-give/A NEG money
"he will not give me money"

2.1.4. Arabic loans

The preverbal elements *ša* and *ara* are also used in combination with Arabic verbs to mark the future tense.

001. *nekkin ša n-tḥeššem*
1s/PRO FUT 1s-shame/IMP-AR
"I will be ashamed"

002. *ša y-sžed*
FUT 3sm-prosternate/IMP-AR
"he will prosternate"

003. *ša y-iɛṭes*
FUT 3sm-sneeze/IMP-AR
"he will sneeze"

In case of the verb *ṭlaqa* “to meet” the future tense is constituted in a somehow different way. The verb *ddu* “go” is here used as a sort of auxiliary verb to connect the future marker *ša* and the verb *ṭlaqa*.

004.	*kedžin*	*ša*	*ddu-t*	*t-ṭlaqa*	*yan*	*inši*
	2sm/PRO	FUT	2s-go-2s/A	2s-meet/IMP-AR	INDEF	person
	“you will meet somebody”					

However if the same sentence is negated the verb *ddu* is no longer used while the future marker *ra* is used instead of *ša* (see VI/2.1.3.).

005.	*kedžin*	*ma*	*ra*	*te-ṭlaqa*	*ḥetta*	*yan*
	2sm/PRO	NEG	FUT	2s-meet/IMP-AR	even	one
	“you will not meet anybody”					

2.2. Negation of verbal sentences

The preverbal element *ma* acts as a negative marker in verbal phrases usually combined with the postverbal element *ši*. The negative elements *ma* and *ši* are used for negation in all tenses and aspects. In the following paragraphs we will discuss the negation of the imperative, future, preterite and intensive.

001.	*lli*	*ma*	*h-ell*	*ši*	*smina*
	sm-RELD/AR	NEG	3sf-be/P	NEG	fat-sf/ADJ-AR
	“one which is not fat”				

002.	*i-san-en*	*inu*	*ma*	*lla-n*	*ši*	*nišan*
	EL/pm-tooth-pm	1s/POSS	NEG	be-3p/P	NEG	straight
	“my teeth are not straight”					

2.2.1. Negation of imperative

[NEG]	**-**	**[verb]**	**-**	**[IO]**	**-**	**[DO]**	**-**	**[HITH]**	**-**	**[NEG]**
ma		**2/A**								***ši***

001. *ma* *y-ettru-t* *ši*
NEG 2s-weep-2s/A NEG
“don’t cry!”

002. *ma* *y-elle-t* *ši* *feqsan*
NEG 2s-be-2s/A NEG sad-sm/ADJ
“don’t be sad!”

003. *ma* *y-edje-m* *ši*
NEG 2p-leave-2p/A NEG
“don’t leave!”

004. *ma* *y-elle-m* *ši* *feqsan-in*
NEG 2p-be-2p/A NEG sad-p/ADJ-AR
“don’t be (p.) sad!”

2.2.2. Negation of future

[NEG] - [FUT] - [IO] - [DO] - [HITH] - [verb] - [NEG]
ma ***ara*** **A/IMP-AR** ***ši***

001. *ma* *ra* *d* *i-ffeɣ* *ši*
NEG FUT HITH 3sm-leave/A NEG
“it will not come out”

002. *nekkin* *ma* *ra* *rri-x* *ši* *irden*
1s/PRO NEG FUT sow-1s/A NEG EL/wheat/coll
“I will not sow wheat”

003. *ma* *ra* *yθ* *i-fk* *ši* *leflus*
NEG FUT 1s/IO 3sm-give/A NEG money
"she will not give me money"

004. *ma* *ra* *ç* *ara-x* *ši*
NEG FUT 2sm/IO write-1s/A NEG
“I will not write you”

2.2.3. Negation of preterite

[NEG] - [verb] - [IO] - [DO] - [HITH] - [NEG]
ma **P/PRF-AR** ***ši***

001. *ta-meṭṭu-t* *illa* *ma* *h-edda* *ši* *dar* *ṭiṭwan* *hiya* *ɛamti*
EL/sf-woman-sf RLV NEG 3sf-go/P NEG ALPR PLN 3sf/PRO-AR aunt-1s/ADN
“the woman who did not go to Tétouan is my aunt”

002. *ta-meṭṭu-t* *illa* *ma* *h-efk* *ay* *ši*
EL/sf-woman-sf RLV NEG 3sf-give/P 1s/IO NEG

leflus *hiya* *ta-žar-t* *inu*
money 3sf/PRO-AR EL/sf-neighbour-sf 1s/POSS
“the woman who didn’t give me money is my neighbour”

The circumfix *ma-…-ši* is also used for negation of verbs that are inflected according to MA morphology.

003. *nuçna* *ma* *ṭlaq-ina* *ši* *bezzaf* *n* *t-ɛiyyal-an*
1p/PRO NEG meet-1p/PRF-AR NEG many GENPR EA/pf-girl-pf
“we have not met many girls”

2.2.4. Negation of intensive

[NEG] - [verb] - [IO] - [DO] - [HITH] - ([NEG])
ma **I/IMP-AR** **(*ši*)**

001. *ma* *tili-n* *ga* *sen* *walu*
NEG be-3p/I LOCPR 3p/PREP nothing
"there is usually nothing in them"

002. *a-rgʲaz* *illa* *ma* *y-tɛumm* *ši* *huwa* *baba*
EL/sm-man RLV NEG 3sm-swim/I NEG 3sm/PRO-AR father-1s/ADN
"the man who is not swimming is my father"

2.2.5. Arabic loans

As is the case with the Berber verbs negation of Arabic verbs is also constituted by means of the preverbal element *ma* and in most cases the postverbal element *ši*. In the following we will present some examples of the negation of Arabic verbs in Ghomara Berber.

001. *nuçna* *ma* *ṭlaq-ina* *ši* *bezzaf* *n* *t-ɛiyyal-an*
1p/PRO NEG meet-1p/PRF-AR NEG many GENPR EA/pf-girl-pf
"we have not met many girls"

002. *nekkin* *ma* *tḥeššem-t* *ši*
1s/PRO NEG shame-1s/PRF-AR NEG
"I was not ashamed"

003. *niçma* *ma* *qra-w* *ši* *lektab* *ahen*
3p/PRO NEG read-3p/PRF-AR NEG book sm/DISD
"they have not read that book"

004. *nekkin* *ma* *ṣber-t* *ši*
1s/PRO NEG be patient-1s/PRF-AR NEG
"I was not patient"

005. *nekkin* *ma* *ṭlaqi-t* *ḥetta* *yan*
1s/PRO NEG read-1s/PRF-AR even person
"I didn't even meet one person"

3. Attraction

Attraction is accomplished by the following circumstances:
1. The preverbal elements *ša*, *ara* and *a*.
2. The conjunctions *niga* "when", *amça* "how" and *ḥetta* "until".
3. Relative clauses.

These circumstances accomplish the attraction of the *d* "hither", the direct objects and the indirect objects. We will discuss the attraction of these element on the basis of the circumstances in which the attraction is generated.

3.1. Attraction of *d* "hither"

3.1.1. Preverbal elements

Preverbal element *ša*

[FUT] - [HITH] - [verb]
ša **A/IMP-AR**

001. *ša* *d* *i-du*[77] *a* *ɣn* *i-neɣ*
FUT HITH 3sm-go/A PROS 1p/DO 3sm-kill/A
"he will come and kill us"

002. *ša* *d* *qqle-x* *gi* *ṣṣbaḥ*
FUT HITH return-1s/A LOCPR morning
"I will come back in the morning"

[77] Gemination is lost due to *d* "hither".

Preverbal element *ara*

[FUT] - [HITH] - [verb]
ara **A/IMP-AR**

003. *ma ra d i-ffeγ ši*
NEG FUT HITH 3sm-leave/A NEG
“it will not come out”

004. *a-εeyyal a ra ddu alaẓen ma ra di qqul ši*
EL/sm-boy RLV FUT 3sm-go/A tomorrow NEG FUT HITH 3sm-return/A NEG
“the boy who will leave tomorrow will not return”

Preverbal element *a*

[PROS/HOR/FUT] - [HITH] - [verb]
a **A/IMP-AR**

005. *a d qqle-x εa buḥmed*
PROS HITH return-1s/A ALPR PLN
“I will come back to Bu Ahmed”

006. *amella a d at n-elkum*
now PROS HITH 3sf/DO 1p-arrive/A
“now we will reach it”

007. *i-xess aç a d ebbe-t*
3sm-need/P 2sm/IO PROS HITH 2sm-take-2sm/A
“you need to take”

3.1.2. Conjunctions

[conjunction] - [HITH] - [verb]

niga/amça/ḥetta

001. *niga d i-ttuθu daγr i ša nne-x marḥaba*
when HITH 3sm-go/I ALPR 1s/PREP FUT say-1s/A welcome
"when he visits me I will say, 'welcome'"

002. *amça d i-ṭlaq-aw ssbaε*
while HITH 3p-meet-3p/IMP-AR lion
"as they approached the lion"

003. *ḥetta d i-ṭlaq-aw ssbaε*
until HITH 3p-meet-3p/IMP-AR lion
"until they approached the lion"

3.1.3. Relative sentences

[main clause] - [RLV] - [HITH] - [verb]

a

001. *netta a d i-ttaxar*
3sm/PRO RLV HITH 3sm-be last/I
"he was the one who finished last"

3.1.4. Arabic loans

Eventhough examples are scarce it seems that hither *d* can also be used in combination with Arabic verbs and participles under the same conditions as stated in 3.1.1. to 3.1.3.

001. *amça d i-ṭlaq-aw ssbaε*
while HITH 3p-meet-3p/IMP-AR lion
"as they approached the lion"

002. *ḥetta d i-ṭlaq-aw ssbaε*
until HITH 3p-meet-3p/IMP-AR lion
"until they approached the lion"

003. *nima maši d*
3p/PRO walking/PTC-AR HITH
"they are walking hither"

Note that in 003. there is no attraction of hither *d* because non of the conditions of attraction of hither *d* are applicable here.

3.2. Attraction of direct objects

3.2.1. Preverbal elements

Preverbal element *ša*

[FUT]	**-**	**[DO]**	**-**	**[verb]**
ša				**A/IMP-AR**

001. *ša t n-eγras*
FUT 3sf/DO 1p-slaughter/A
"we will slaughter it"

002. *ša t açur-en*
FUT 3sf/DO steal-3p/A
“they will steal it”

003. *ša wn eqqn-ex*
FUT 2p/DO tie-1s/A
“I will tie you (p.)”

Preverbal element *ara*

[FUT] - [DO] - [verb]
ara **A/IMP-AR**

004. *almuḥami a ra θ y-ara lwerqa yaθ i-tɣellay bezzaf*
lawyer FOC FUT 3sf/DO 3sm-write/A paper sf/PRD 3sm-be expensive/I much
“the lawyer who will write this paper is very expensive”

005. *amça ra wn af-ex*
how FUT 2p/DO find-1s/A
“how will I find you?”

Preverbal element *a*

[PROS/HOR/FUT] - [DO] - [verb]
a **A/IMP-AR**

006. *ma ya ɣn i-šš*
NEG PROS 1p/DO 3sm-eat/A
“he will not eat us”

007. *a ɣn i-neɣ*
PROS 1p/DO 3sm-kill/A
“he will kill us”

3.2.2. Conjunctions

[conjunction] - [DO] - [verb]
niga/amça/ḥetta **A/IMP-AR**

001. *niga* *θ* *i-qleb* *ssbaɛ* *i-ḥaf* *xf* *es*
when 3sm/DO 3sm-turn over/P lion 3sm-grasp/P IMPR 3sm/PREP
"when he turned him over the lion grab hold of him"

3.2.3. Relative sentences

[main clause] - [RLV] - [DO] - [verb]
a

001. *ta-meṭṭu-t* *a* *yθ* *i-fk-en* *leflus* *hiya* *yemma*
EL/sf-woman-sf RLV 1s/DO PTC-give-PTC/P money 3sf/PRO-AR mother-1s/ADN
"the woman who gave me money is my mother"

002. *ma* *ç* *i-ɣul*
what 2sm/DO 3sm-befall/P
"what has happened to you?"

3.3. Attraction of indirect objects

3.3.1. Preverbal elements

Preverbal element *ša*

[FUT] - [IO] - [verb]
ša **A**

001. *ša* *s* *i-qqar* *i* *leḥšam* *n* *t-muda*
FUT 3sm/IO 3sm-teach/A DATPR children GENPR EA/sf-pig
“he will teach the children of the pig”

002. *ša* *y* *t-šemθ-em*
FUT 1s/IO 2p-trick-2p/A
“you (p.) will trick me”

Preverbal element *ara*

[FUT] - [IO] - [verb]
ara **A**

003. *ma* *ra* *ç* *ara-x* *ši*
NEG FUT 2sm/IO write-1s/A NEG
“I will not write you”

004. *škun* *a-rgʲaz* *ara* *yθ* *i-fk* *leflus*
who EL/sm-man FUT 1s/IO 3sm-give/A money
“which man will give me money?”

Preverbal element *a*

[PROS/HOR/FUT] - [IO] - [verb]
a **A**

005. *ara* *m* *qqar-ex* *leḥšam* *nnem*
give PROS 2sf/IO teach-1s/A children 2sf/POSS
“give me your children so I will teach them”

3.3.2. Conjunctions

[conjunction] - [IO] - [verb]
niga/amça/ḥetta **A/IMP-AR**

001. *niga* *s* *enna-n* *leḥšam* *nnaç*
when 3sm/IO say-3p/P children 1p/POSS
“when they said to him, ‘our children’”

002. *ḥetta* *s* *t-efseç* *lželd* *an*
until 3sm/IO 3sf-untie/P leather sm/ANAPH
“until she untied that leather for him”

3.3.3. Relative sentences

[main clause] - [RLV] - [IO] - [verb]
a

001. *h-edda* *d* *lqniyya* *nettaθa* *a* *s* *i-fesç-en*
3sf-go/P HITH rabbit 3sf/PRO RLV 3sm/IO PTC-untie-PTC/P
“the rabbit came, she was the one who untied him”

002. *škun* *a* *s* *i-xess-en* *a* *ddu* *dar* *ṭiṭwan*
who RLV 3sm/IO PTC-need-PTC/P PROS 3sm-go/A LOCPR PLN
"who is the one who wants to go to Tétouan"

4. Relative sentences

Relative sentences in Ghomara Berber consist of two main types, namely non-participial constructions and participial constructions. We will discuss these two types of relative sentences and in addition the relativizers *a* and *illa*.

4.1. Non-participial constructions

4.1.1. Relativizer *a*

In this category we find relative sentences with the future marker *ara*, the past particle *ag* and sentences in which the subject of the subordinate clause is not the same as the subject of the main clause. Note that in most cases the relativizer *a* has assimilated to the initial vowel *a* of either the future marker ara of the past particle *ag*.

001. *a-rgʲaz* *ara* *ddu* *dar* *ṭiṭwan* *huwa* *baba*
EL/sm-man RLV FUT 3sm-go/A ALPR PLN 3sm/PRO-AR father-1s/ADN
"the man who will go to Tétouan is my father"

002. *ta-meṭṭu-t* *aç* *t-ell* *t-etɛumm* *hiya* *yemma*
EL/sf-woman-sf RLV PSP 3sf-be/P 3sf-swim/I 3sf/PRO-AR mother-1s/ADN
"the woman who was swimming is my mother"

003. *a-rgʲaz* *ara* *yθ* *i-fk* *leflus* *huwa* *baba*
EL/sm-man RLV FUT 1s/DO 3sm-give-/A money 3sm/PRO-AR father-1s/ADN
"the man who will give me money is my father"

004. *ta-meṭṭu-t* *aç* *t-ell* *ktar* *zg* *asen* *hiya* *yemma*
EL/sf-woman-sf RLV PSP 3sf-be/P more ABLPR 3p/PREP 3sf/PRO-AR mother-1s/ADN
"the woman who was the biggest of them is my mother"

005. *a-rg^{j}az* *a* *ẓra-x* *atg^{j}am*
EL/sm-man RLV see-1s/P yesterday
"the man whom I saw yesterday"

006. *a-rg^{j}az* *a* *wfa-x* *atg^{j}am* *i-skar* *a-γrum*
EL/sm-man RLV see-1s/P yesterday 3sm-make/P EL/sm-bread
"the man whom I saw yesterday made bread"

007. *lmuḥami* *a* *γa* *ç* *i-γella* *xf* *i*
lawyer RLV ALPR 2sm/PREP 3sm-be expensive/P IMPR 1s/PREP
"the lawyer you have is too expensive for me"

4.1.1.1. Arabic loans

Relativizer *a* is also used in combination with Arabic verbs (i.e. verbs that are inflected according to MA morphology). The following examples attest to this.

001. *medden* *a* *ka* *y-ṣebr-u* *tfaw-en* *d* *mezyan-in*
people RLV PSP 3p-be patient-3p/P turn out-3p/I HITH well-sf/ADJ-AR
"people who are patient turn out well"

002. *ti-mγar-an* *a* *ṭlaq-aw* *ta-εeyyal-t* inu
EL/pf-woman-pf RLV meet-3p/PERF-AR EL/sf-daughter-sf 1s/POSS
"the women who met my daughter"

In addition we have an example of the use of an MA relativizer *lli* combined with the Ghomara Berber relativizer *a*.

003.	*i-xess*	*ay*	*a-xeyyam*	*a*	*lli*	*ga*	*s*	*bezzaf*
	3sm-need/P	1s/IO	EL/sm-house	RLV	RLV-AR	LOCPR	3sm/PREP	many

n *ṭṭiq-an*
GENPR EA/window-pm
“I want a house in which there are many windows”

4.1.2. Relativizer *illa*

Relativizer *illa* is used in relative sentences with negative marker *ma* which can be followed by the future marker *ara* or the past particle *ag*.

001.	*a-rgʲaz*	*illa*	*ma*	*y-tɛumm*	*ši*	*huwa*	*baba*
	EL/sm-man	RLV	NEG	3sm-swim/I	NEG	3sm/PRO-AR	father-1s/ADN

“the man who is not swimming is my father”

002.	*i-rgʲaz-en*	*illa*	*ma*	*tɛumm-en*	*ši*	*huma*
	EL/pm-man-pm	RLV	NEG	swim-3p/I	NEG	3p/PRO-AR

i-ɛeyyal-en inu
EL/pm-child-pm 1s/POSS
“the men who are not swimming are my sons”

003.	*i-rgʲaz-en*	*illa*	*ma*	*ra*	*ddu-n*	*dar*	*ṭiṭwan*	*hum*
	EL/pm-man-pm	RLV	NEG	FUT	go-3p/A	LOCPR	PLN	3sm/PRO-AR

ayθ-ma
EL/pm-brother-1s/ADN
“the men who will not go to Tétouan are my brothers”

004. *a-rgʲaz* *illa* *ma* *ra* *yθ* *i-fk* *leflus* *huwa* *baba*
EL/sm-man RLV NEG FUT 1s/DO 3sm-give/A money 3sm/PRO-AR EL/father-1s/ADN
"the man who will not give me money is my father"

005. *škun* *ti-meṭṭut-an* *illa* *ma* *ra* *yθ* *fk-en* *ši* *leflus*
who EL/pf-woman-pf RLV NEG FUT 1s/DO give-3p/A NEG money
"who are the women who will not give me money"

006. *ta-meṭṭu-t* *illa* *ma* *h-edda* *ši* *dar* *ṭiṭwan* *hiya* *ɛamti*
EL/sf-woman-sf RLV NEG 3sf-go/P NEG ALPR PLN 3sf/PRO-AR aunt-1s/ADN
"the woman who did not go to Tétouan is my aunt"

007. *ta-meṭṭu-t* *illa* *ma* *h-efk* *ay* *ši* *leflus* *hiya*
EL/sf-woman-sf RLV NEG 3sf-give/P 1s/DO NEG money 3sf/PRO-AR

ta-žar-t *inu*
EL/sf-neighbour-sf 1s/POSS
"the woman who didn't give me money is my neighbour"

008. *ti-meṭṭut-an* *illa* *ma* *g* *ella-n* *ši* *t-ɛumm-en* *huma*
EL/pf-woman-pf RLV FUT PSP be-3p/P NEG 3p-swim-3p/I 3sm/PRO-AR

ti-ɛeyyal-an inu
EL/pf-child-pf 1s/POSS
"the women who were not swimming are my children"

009. *a-rgʲaz* *illa* *ma* *g* *i-ll* *ši* *i-tɛumm* *huwa* *baba*
EL/sm-man RLV FUT PSP 3sm-be/P NEG 3sm-swim/I 3sm/PRO-AR father-1s/ADN
"the man who was not swimming is my father"

4.2. Participial constructions

Participial constructions in relative sentences seem to be employed in sentences without the future marker *ara* or the negative marker *ma*. As for the past particle *ag*, we have seen that the relative sentences can also be non-participial.

001. *škun a s i-xess-en a ddu dar ṭiṭwan*
who RLV 3sm/IO PTC-want-PTC/A PROS 3sm-go/A ALPR PLN
"who is the one who wants to go to Tétouan"

002. *a-rgʲaz a y-dda-n dar ṭiṭwan huwa baba*
EL/sm-man RLV PTC-go-PTC/P ALPR PLN 3sm/PRO-AR father-1s/ADN
"the man who went to Tétouan is my father"

003. *ta-meṭṭu-t a yθ i-fk-en leflus hiya yemma*
EL/sf-woman-sf RLV 1s/DO PTC-give-PTC/P money 3sf/PRO-AR mother-1s/ADN
"the woman who gave me money is my mother"

004. *wa r i-qder a znez ṭṭumubil*
sm/RELD RLV FUT 3sm-be able/A PROS 3sm-sell/A car

wa yi-lla-n mfegged
sm/RELD RLV PTC-be-PTC/P smart
"the one who will be able to sell this car is the smart one"

005. *a-rgʲaz a g i-lla-n qarm atgʲam*
EL/sm-man RLV PSP PTC-be-PTC/P silent-sm/ADJ yesterday
"the man who was being silent yesterday"

006. *wa y-tɣima-n laxri waniθ i-lla-n a-meddakul inu*
sm/RELD RLV PTC-stay-PTC/I last sm/ANAPH PTC-be-PTC/P EL/sm-friend 1s/POSS
"the one who stays behind, he is the one who is my friend"

4.3. Cleft sentences

The non-verbal predicate in cleft sentences is connected to the relative clause by means of a focalisation particle which is *a*.

001. *whadi* *a* *yi-lla-n* *xeddam*
sm/PRD FOC PTC-be-PTC/I working/PTC-AR
"this one is the one that works"

002. *nekk* *a* *t* *i-ɛawn-en* *ge* *ṭṭumubil* *nnes*
1s/PRO FOC 3sf/DO PTC-help-PTC/P LOCPR car 3sf/POSS
"I am the one who helped her with her car"

003. *netta* *a* *y-uçr-en* *arwiδa* *yahen* *n* *ṭṭumubil*
3sm/PRO FOC PTC-steal-PTC/P wheel sm/DISD GENPR car
"he is the one who stole that wheel of the car"

004. *ɛišrin* *n* *ti-wfal-an* *a* *sγa-x* *nekkin* *zge* *ssuq*
twenty GENPR EA/pf-egg-pf FOC buy-1s/P 1s/PRO ABLPR market
"I have bought twenty eggs from the market (litt.: "twenty eggs, I have bought on the market")

005. *bezzaf* *l* *lebhayem* *a* *γre* *s*
much GENPR cattle/coll FOC ALPR 3sm/PREP
"he has much cattle (litt.: "much cattle is with him")

006. *lkisan* *a* *h-ttu-t* *ma* *sγa-t* *ten*
glasses FOC 2s-forget-2s/P NEG 2s-buy-2s/P 3p/DO
"glasses, that's what you forgot to buy "

APPENDICES

1. Appendix I: population statistics

The following table shows the *žamaεa* which belong to Ghomara according to official data which was handed to us by the officials of the *qiyada* of Bu Aḥmed. The table is divided into three levels. The first level is composed of the *žamaεa*. The second level consists of the *rbaε* in which the *žamaεa* are divided. The third level consists of the *duwwar* in which the *rbaε* are divided.

Table 025. Population statistics

Ghomara	Berber[78]	Colin[79]	Behnstedt[80]	Inhabitants[81]	Households[82]
1. Bni Buẓra[83]				11.734	
1. Bu Aḥmed[84]			x	427	94
2. Bni Musa		x			
1. Tamayelt	x		x	197	28
2. Izziwen	x		x	195	24
3. Tazemmurt	x	x[85]	x[86]	86	11

[78] The marked place names are Berberophone according to our own findings.
[79] Colin specifically designates the marked place names as Berberophone areas. Note that he does not always specify the *duwwar* but sometimes only mentions the *rbaε*. Colin, 'Le parler berbère'.
[80] Behnstedt places the marked place names within the Berberophone area in his map. In addition, he also located Amṭiq and Aḥlawut within this Berberophone area. We do not know Amṭiq as a *duwwar*. As for Aḥlawut, our informant Muhammad Hudda has reported this place name (who pronounced it asḤlawet). However, he added that this was just a '*ddšar*'. We assume therefore that this is not a *duwwar*. The official list which contains all the *duwwar* did not contain Ḥlawet. Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe', p. 18.
[81] This data is derived from the census of 1994.
[82] Id.
[83] The total number of inhabitants of Bni Buẓra in 2004 was 14.950 according to the census of 2004. There was no specification of this census available at the time of our fieldwork. We have taken the differentiated number of inhabitants of the census of 1994 in order to calculate the estimate number of inhabitants in 2004 on the basis of the growth rate which was given to us by the *qiyada* of Bu Aḥmed. According to this information, the growth rate between 1994 and 2004 was 2,451 percent annually.
[84] The centre of Bu Aḥmed is not considered as a *žamaεa* but it belongs to Bni Buẓra and Bni Buẓra is part of the *qiyada* of Bu Aḥmed.
[85] Behnstedt designates Tazemmurt as a *duwwar* belonging to Bni Menṣur instead of Bni Buẓra. At the same time he designates the *duwwar* south of Tazemmurt, Isuka, as a *duwwar* belonging to Bni Buẓra. Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe', p. 18. Colin reports that both Isuka and Tazemmurt belong to Bni Menṣur. Colin, 'Le parler berbère', p. 44. Since these two *rbaε* are located in the area between the two *žamaεa*, there have possibly been

4. Maḥmud	x			152	23
5. Faliz	x		x[87]	210	31
6. Ɛamṭiqan	x		x	113	22
7. Awrekt	x			99	17
8. Iżullassen	x			602	93
9. Žnanniš	x			546	77
10. Dḥit	x		x	294	51
11. Aɛerqub	x		x	477	69
12. Taza	x		x	231	38
13. Tarrart	x		x	296	49
14. Amtar	x			63	9
15. Lqelɛa[88]	x			396	62
3. Alwuṣṭiyyen		x			
1. Anaray	x	x[89]		615	87
2. Taγdawella	x			217	36
3. Aduz	x		x	215	31
4. Iɛraben	x		x	811	139
4. Bni Menselman					
1. Taza				494	68
2. Bukrim				62	10
3. Dar Maymum				362	66
4. Isumaten				220	38
5. Išerḥan				154	26
6. Ašendiran				318	47
7. Ilunta				319	45
8. Azaγar				173	22
9. Tiwezγa				218	30

some changes over time. The *qiyada* of Bu Aḥmed reported to us that Tazemmurt now belongs to the *žamaɛa* of Bni Buẓra while Isuka belongs to the *žamaɛa* of Bni Menṣur.

[86] Id.

[87] Behnstedt notes Fali instead of Faliz. We have every reason to believe that the two correspond to each other. P. Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe', p. 18.

[88] Lqelɛa used to be an individual *rbaɛ* but merged with Bni Musa in 2005.

[89] Colin notes Anarar. Since he reports that this *duwwar* belongs to the *rbaɛ* of Alwuṣṭiyyen, we assume that Anarar corresponds to Anaray. Anaray is the official place name nowadays. Colin, 'Le parler berbère', p. 51.

10. Agursif				262	34
11. Inwalan				65	9
5. Tadman					
1. Tadman				1.088	171
2. Buskan			x[90]	251	35
3. Ifergan[91]				1.506	214
2. Bni Menṣur					
1. Bni Σruṣ					
1. Isuka	x	x	x	712	105
2. Bni Σfara	x	x	x	165	22
3. Aγil Σazeb	x	x	x	238	38
4. Tawrart (Mrabṭin)	x	x	x	185	26
5. Tužgan	x	x	x	272	35
6. Iṭruhaš	x	x	x	253	39
7. Taženza	x	x	x	174	19
2. Idur nuɛman					
1. Bu Khaled				323	48
2. Azaγar				399	66
3. Idran				354	46
4. Talamna				327	37
5. Alxamis				266	41
6. Tafrawt				82	12
7. Unayen				344	45
3. Inswan					
1. Inswan				802	97
2. Talemsint				343	42
3. Iṭelḥaten				241	28
4. Dar Magu				275	36
5. Mizan				285	37

[90] Bu Sekkin probably corresponds to Buskan. This *rbaɛ* belongs to the *žamaɛa* of Tadman. This is an entirely Arabophone *rbaɛ* according to all our informants. Cf. P. Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe', p. 18.
[91] Ifergan used to be an individual *rbaɛ* but merged with Tadman in 2005.

6. Bni Beššar	857	118
7. Θawrrat	498	79
4. Rbaε[92]		
1. Taγzut nuwwar	1.272	176
2. Anuγran	164	34
3. Bni Nṣir	334	47
4. Θarezzat	956	137
5. Tazegnateθ	322	46
5. Rbaε[93]		
1. Bnu Wukna	1.101	150
2. Ben Σudiyen	467	65
3. Aziman	394	52
4. Mdina	568	74
5. Aṣtiwen	299	41
6. Tawrart	564	76
7. Išerben	274	31
3. Bni Smiḥ	11.793	
4. Bni Rzin	15.836	

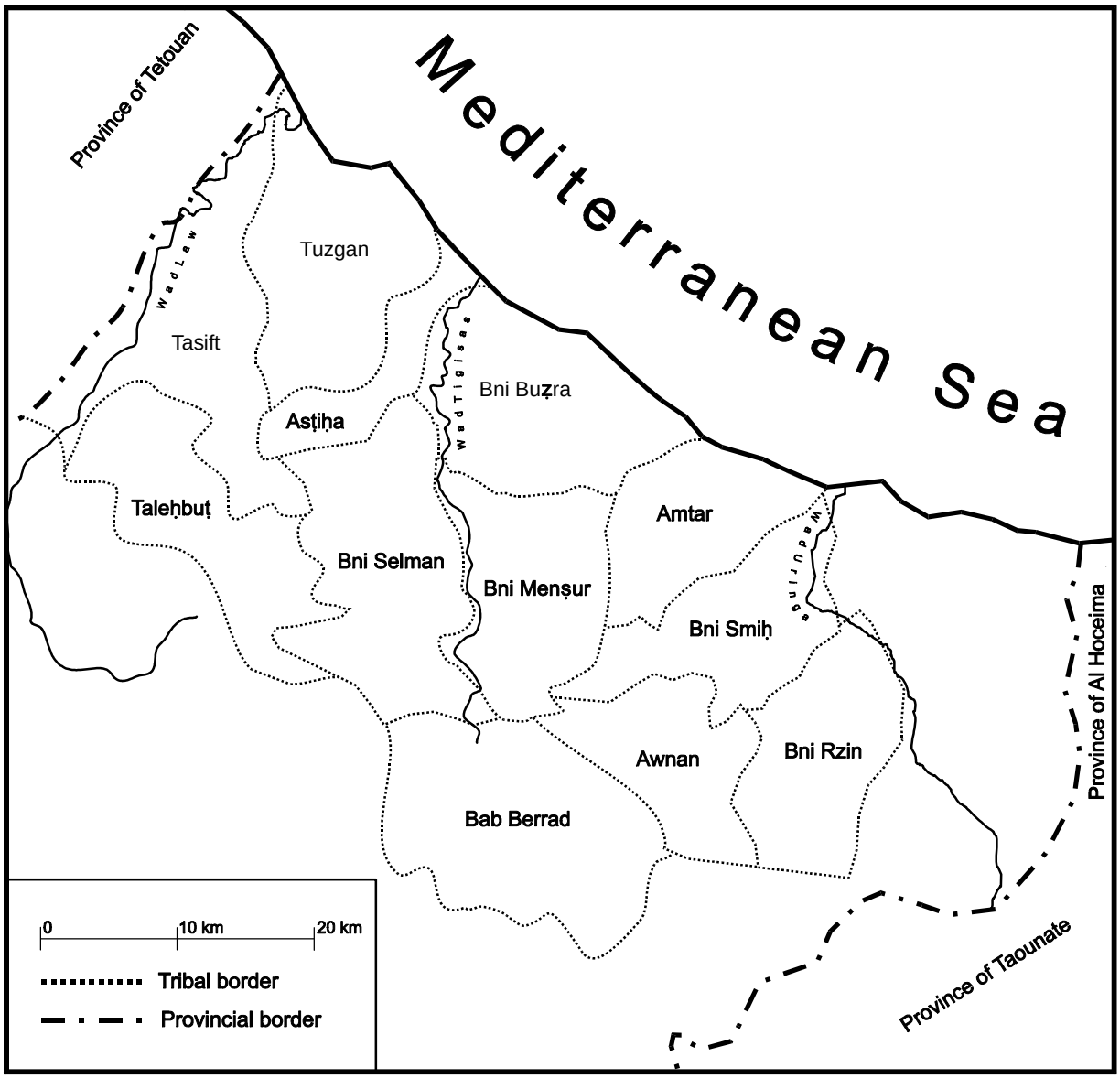
2. Maps

2.1. Appendix II: official map of Ghomara

The following map is based on an official map which was handed to us by the officials of the *qiyada* of Bu Aḥmed. On the basis of satellite photo's provided by Google Maps[94] we have added the rivers and corrected the line corresponding to the coastline. We have added the rivers to make comparison possible with other maps because Wad Law corresponds to the Eastern border while Wad Uringa corresponds to the Western border of Ghomara. Wad Tigisas roughly corresponds to the border of Bni Buẓra and Bni Menṣur with their respective Eastern neighbours Aṣtiḥa and Bni Selman.

[92] We do not know the name of this *rbaε*.
[93] Id.
[94] See http://maps.google.nl.

Map 1: Official map of Ghomara



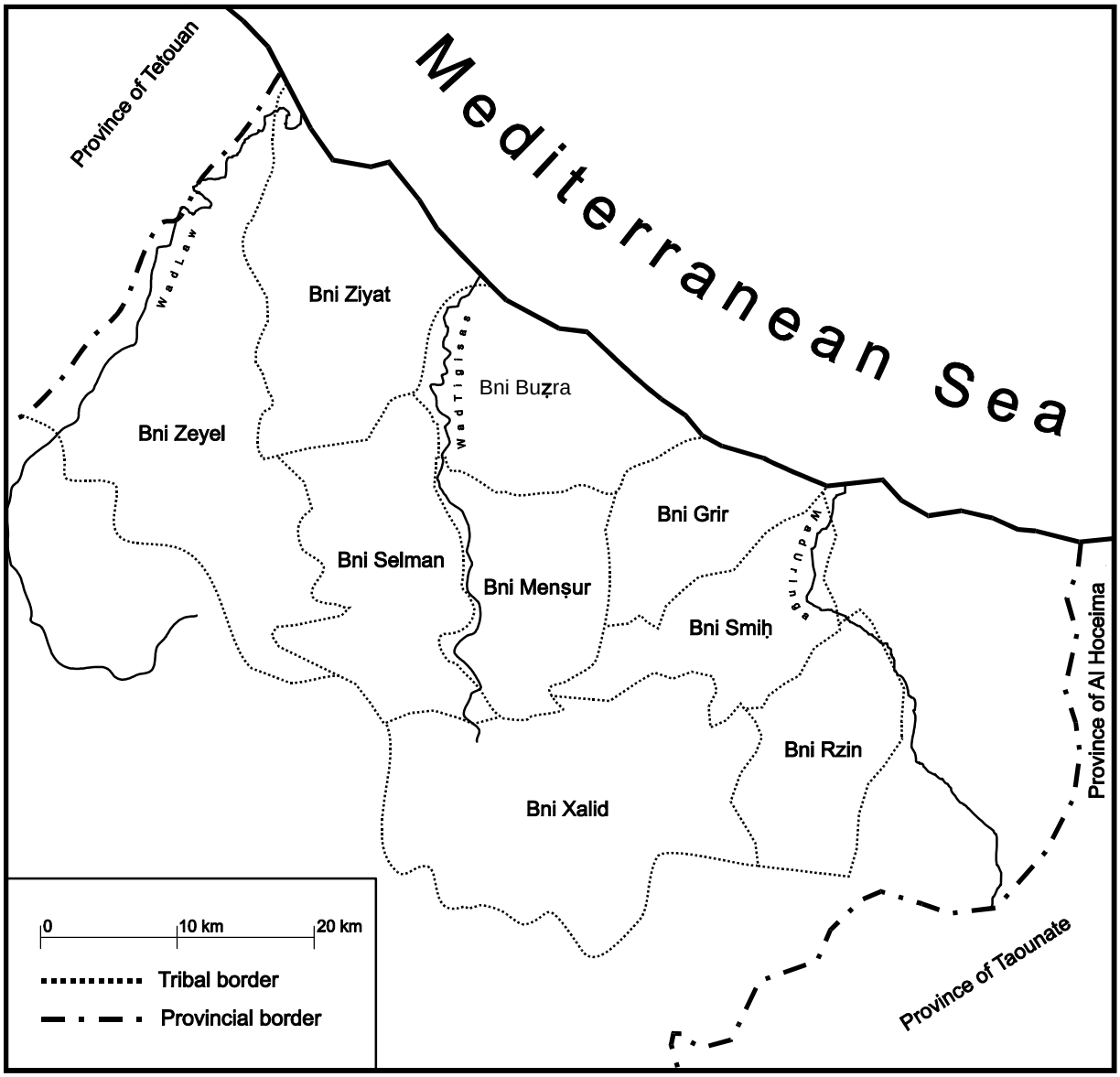
2.2. Appendix III: traditional map of Ghomara

In the following map we have combined the official map which was handed to us by officials of the *qiyada* of Bu Aḥmed (see Appendix II/map 1) and the map of A. Renisio.[95] We have checked this map

[95] A. Renisio, *Étude sur les dialectes berbères des Beni Iznassen, du Rif et des Senhaja de Sraïr: grammaire, textes et lexique* (Paris: Leroux, 1932).

and corrected it whenever necessary on the basis of the information which was given to us by our informants.

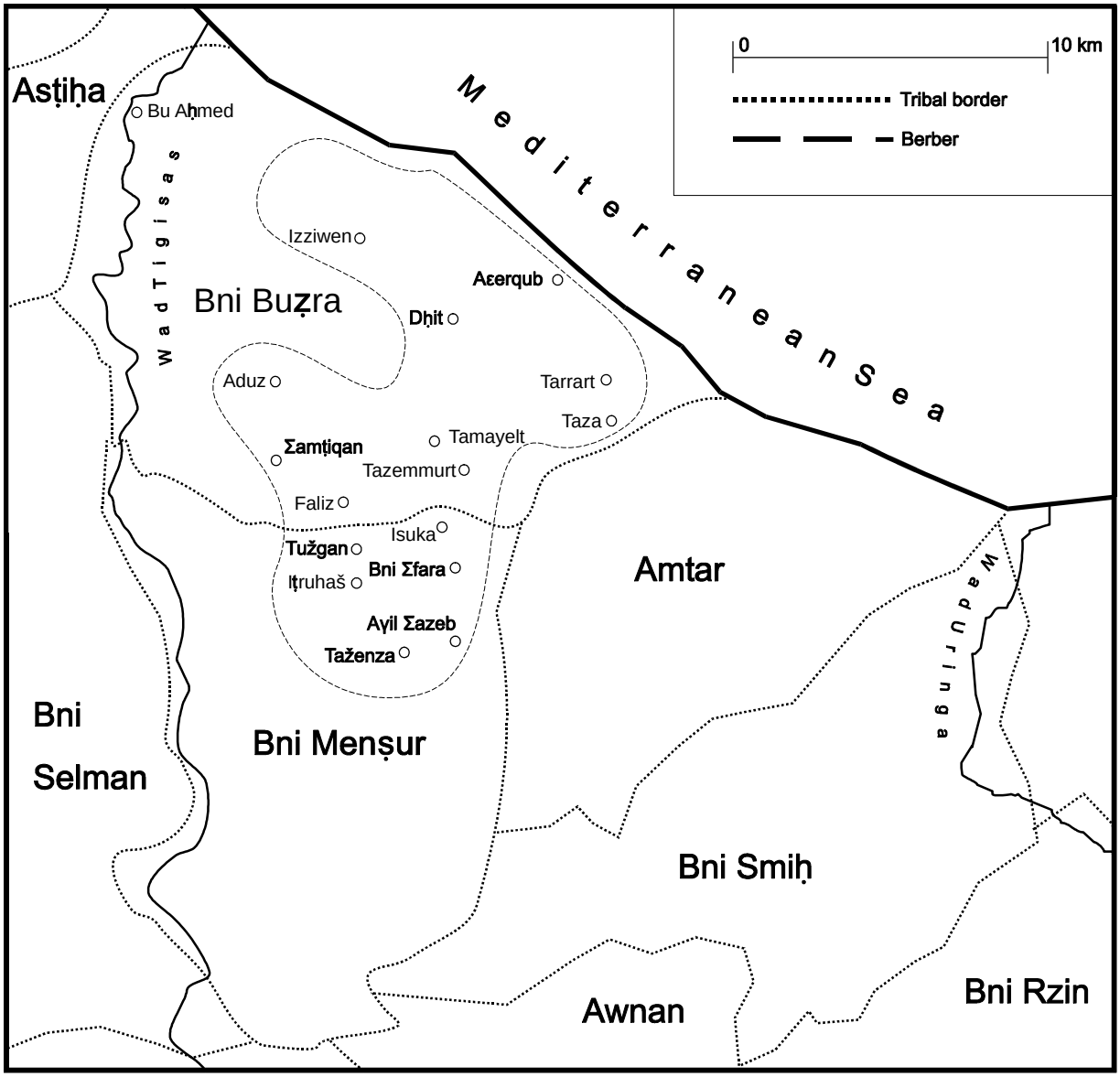
Map 2: Traditional map of Ghomara



2.3. Appendix IV: map of Bni Buẓra and Bni Menṣur

The following map was based on the official map (see Appendix II/map 1) and the linguistic map of Behnstedt.[96] We have left out place names which are not important for the Berber speaking area and place names of which we doubted whether they are located correctly on the map or which were not reported to us. Thus the Berber speaking area designated in map 3 is based on our findings.

Map 3: Map of Bni Buẓra and Bni Menṣur



[96] Cf. P. Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe', p. 18.

Behnstedt reports that Tawrart is located in the South of Bni Menṣur. Behnstedt specifically states that this is the location of the Berberophone *duwwar* Tawrart which belongs to Bni Σruṣ: “Hay dos lugares en la zona denominadas Tawrart. Pero me idicaron expresamente que Tawrart está situada al sur de Dār Mažžu.”[97] Dār Mažžu corresponds to Dar Magu, which belongs to the *rbaε* of Inswan in Bni Menṣur. According to Behnstedts map Iṭelḥaten is located near Dar Magu. Iṭelḥaten also belongs to the *rbaε* of Inswan in Bni Menṣur. These two *duwwar* of Inswan separate Tawrart of Bni Σruṣ from the rest of Bni Σruṣ in the North in the map of Behnstedt. This is not very likely, especially since Inswan is Arabophone while Bni Σruṣ is Berberophone. It is more likely that Tawrart in the South belongs to *rbaε* 5 (see Appendix I/Table 025.). This *rbaε* of which we do not know the name but only the *duwwar* belonging to it, is entirely Arabophone. Because of these uncertainties, we have left Tawrart out of our map.

[97] P. Behnstedt, ‘La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe’, p. 10.

TEXTS

1. *Lqiṣṣa n ugʲdi iδ ušnekkaf*

001. *i-nna s a-gʲdi yallah a n-šterh-u*
3sm-say/P 3sm/IO EL/sm-jackal HOR-s HOR 1p-cooperate-1p/IMP-AR

002. *a ɛammi a-šnekkaf dda-n rri-n ti-sker-t*
VOC uncle-1s/ADN EL/sm-hedgehog go-3p/P sow-3p/P EL/sf-garlic-sf/coll

003. *niga wežd-eθ lγilla dda-n ša bṭu-n lγilla*
when be ready-sf/PRF-AR crops go-3p/P FUT divide-3p/A crops

004. *šwa ra bb-et a ɛammi a-gʲdi*
what FUT 2s-take-2s/A VOC uncle-1s/ADN EL/sm-jackal

005. *a-gʲdi i-ẓra i-fraw-en i-nna s*
EL/sm-jackal 3sm-see/P EL/pm-leaf-pm 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

006. *yallah ša bb-ex ḥerrefḥerref iδ u-šnekkaf*
HOR-s FUT take-1s/A cuttable crops COPR EA/sm-hedgehog

007. *i-nna s yallah ša bb-ex qlaɛqlaɛ*
3sm-say/P 3sm/IO HOR-s FUT take-1s/A pluckable crops

008. *i-qlaɛ ti-sker-t t-tili lγilla n ti-sker-t*
3sm-pluck/P EL/sf-garlic-sf/coll 3sf-be/I crops GENPR EA/sf-garlic-sf/coll

009. *zḍu t-rḥab-t i-dda d a-šnekkaf i-bb*
under EA/sf-ground-sf 3sm-go/P HITH EL/sm-hedgehog 3sm-take/P

010. *ti-sker-t* *iδ* *u-gʲdi* *i-bb* *i-fraw-en* *i-bb*
EL/sf-garlic-sf/coll COPR EA/sm-jackal 3sm-take/P EL/pm-leaf-pm 3sm-take/P

011. *γa* *i-fraw-en* *i-fraw-en* *n* *ti-sker-t* *ma*
only EL/pm-leaf-pm EL/pm-leaf-pm GENPR EA/sf-garlic-sf/coll NEG

012. *tili-n* *ga* *sen* *walu* *dda-n* *fḥal* *em*
be-3p/I LOCPR 3p/PREP nothing go-3p/P way 3p/POSS-AR

013. *εawed* *i-dda* *d* *merra* *ta-yeṭ* *i-nna* *s*
again 3sm-go/P HITH time sf-other 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

014. *xess* *anaç* *a* *n-kun* *šterh-u* *šwa*
3sm-need/A 1p/IO PROS 1pm-be-1pm/IMP-AR 1p-cooperate-1p/IMP-AR what

015. *dda-n* *rri-n* *dda-n* *rri-n* *i-βaw-en* *rri-n*
go-3p/P sow-3p/P go-3p/P sow-3p/P EL/pm-bean-pm sow-3p/P

016. *i-βaw-en* *wežd-eθ* *lγilleθ* *dda-n* *ša* *bṭu-n*
EL-pm-bean-pm be ready-sf/PRF-AR crops go-3p/P FUT divide-3p/A

017. *i-nna* *s* *šwa* *ra* *bb-et* *a* *εammi* *a-gʲdi*
3sm-say/P 3sm/IO what FUT 2s-take-2s/A VOC uncle-1s/ADN EL/sm-jackal

018. *i-nna* *s* *lmerra* *y* *ša* *bb-ex* *qlaεqlaε*
3sm-say/P 3sm/IO time sf/PRD FUT take-1s/A pluckable crops

019. *lmerra* *ta-yeṭ* *t-šemθ-et* *ay* *merra* *ta-yeṭ* *t-šemθ-et*
time sf-other 2sm-trick-2sm/P 1s/DO time sf-other 2sm-trick-2sm/P

020. *kedž* *t-ebba-t* *qlaεqlaε* *i* *nekk* *bba-x*
2sm/PRO 2sm-take-2sm/P pluckable crops COPR 1s/PRO take-1s/P

021. *ḥerrefḥerref i-bb i-fraw-en i-fraw-en ma ga*
cuttable crops 3sm-take/P EL/pm-leaf-pm EL/pm-leaf-pm NEG LOCPR

022. *sen walu n ti-sker-t lmerra y ša*
3p/PREP nothing GENPR EA-sf-garlic-sf/coll time sf/PRD FUT

023. *bb-ex qlaɛqlaɛ ɛawed ɛaks a-gʲdi i-bb*
take-1s/A pluckable crops again contrary EL/sm-jackal 3sm-take/P

024. *qlaɛqlaɛ i-βaw-en zḍu t-rḥab-t ma*
pluckable crops EL/pm-bean-pm under EA/sf-ground-sf NEG

025. *ga sen walu i-βaw-en tili-n*
LOCPR 3p/PREP nothing EL/pm-bean-pm be-3p/I

026. *ga sen lγilla g i-fraw-en a-gʲdi maša*
LOCPR 3p/PREP crops LOCPR EA/pm-leaf-pm EL/sm-jackal but

027. *i-bb qlaɛqlaɛ iδ u-šnekkaf merra ta-yeṭ*
3sm-take/P pluckable crops COPR EA/sm-hedgehog time sf-other

028. *i-šemθ as iδn a-gʲdi merra tanya*
3sm-trick/P 3sm/IO so EL/sm-jackal time second-sf/ADJ-AR

029. *i-bb qlaɛqlaɛ a-gʲdi ɛawed iδ u-šnekkaf*
3sm-take/P pluckable crops EL/sm-jackal again COPR EA/sm-hedgehog

030. *i-bb ḥerrefḥerref ɛawed a-šnekkaf*
3sm-take/P cuttable crops again EL/sm-hedgehog

031. *i-šmeθ li'anna hu ɛawed i-bb lγilla*
3sm-trick/P because 3sm/DO-AR again 3sm-take/P crops

032. *i-βaw-en* *ma* *tili-n* *ši* *zḍu* *t-rḥab-t*
EL/pm-bean-pm NEG be-3p/I NEG under EA/sf-ground-sf

033. *i-šemθ* *as*
3sm-trick/P 3sm/IO

1.1. The story of the jackal and the hedgehog

The jackal said to him, “Let’s work together uncle hedgehog.” They went and sowed garlic. When the crops were ready, they went to divide the crops. “What are you going to take uncle jackal?” The jackal saw the leaves and said to him, “Well I will take the crops on the leaves.” The hedgehog said to him, “All right I will take the crops in the ground then.” He pulled the bulbs of garlic out of the ground, because crops of a garlic plant grow in the ground. So the hedgehog took the garlic bulbs while the jackal took the leaves. He only took leaves of the garlic plant because leaves of garlic plants do not have anything on them. After that, they went on their way.

Another time he came to the hedgehog and said, “We should be working together.” What is it they went to sow? They went and sowed beans. When the crops were ready, they went to divide the crops. He said to him, “What are you going to take uncle jackal.” He said to him, “This time I will take the crops in the ground. The other time you tricked me. You tricked me because you took the crops in the ground and I took the crops on the leaves.” He took the leaves, but the leaves do not have garlic bulbs on them. “This time I will be the one who will take the crops in the ground.” So contrary to the other time, the jackal pulled the crops from the ground. But bean plants don’t grow anything in the ground, instead bean plants grow crops on the leaves. But the jackal took the crops in the ground and that way the hedgehog tricked him again.

So the second time the jackal took the crops in the ground while the hedgehog took the crops on the leaves and he tricked him again. He tricked him, because he took the crops again. Beans do not grow under the ground. He tricked him.

2. *Lqiṣṣa n ugʲdi i tmuda*

001. *a-gʲdi i-dda d daɣur t-muda*
EL/sm-jackal 3sm-go/P HITH ALPR EA/sf-pig

002. *i-ttafa ɣar s leḥšam*
3sm-find/I ALPR 3sf/PREP children

003. *a-gʲdi i-nna s i t-muda*
EL/sm-jackal 3sm-say/P 3sf/IO DATPR EA/sf-pig

004. *ara m qqar-ex leḥšam nnem*
give 2sf/IO teach-1s/A children 2sf/POSS

005. *ša s i-qqar i*
FUT 3sf/IO 3sm-teach/A DATPR

006. *leḥšam n t-muda hewa t-efk*
children GENPR EA/sf-pig well 3sf-give/P

007. *as leḥšam nnes a s t*
3sm/IO children 3sf/POSS PROS 3sf/IO 3sm/DO

008. *i-qqar yahen i-dda i-tett as*
3sm-teach/A 3p/DO 3sm-go/P 3sm-eat/I 3sf/IO

009. *yan g ennhar i-tett ahen*
one LOCPR day 3sm-eat/I 3p/DO

010. *i netta niga y-tett i-tsiyyab*
COPR 3sm/PRO when 3sm-eat/I 3sm-throw/I

011. *i-ɣess-an g lḥaža inši ttuθu-n*
EL/pm-bone-pm LOCPR thing some go-3p/I

012. *d i-reẓẓan-en i-reẓẓan-en tett-en i-ɣess-an*
HITH EL/pm-hornet-pm EL/pm-hornet-pm eat-3p/I EL/pm-bone-pm

013. *in i-qqim ayyamaθ i-qqar as leḥšam*
p/ANAPH 3sm-stay/P days 3sm-teach/A 3sf/IO children

014. *t-ttuθu d ta-muda dda d*
3sf-go/I HITH EL/sf-pig 3sf-go/P HITH

015. *a t-ṭella leḥšam nnes*
PROS 3sf-watch/A children 3sf/POSS

016. *waš ka ye-qra-w amça t-edda d t-enna*
whether INP-AR 3p-learn-3p/IMP-AR while 3sf-go/P HITH 3sf-say/P

017. *s i-xess ay a ṭella-x leḥšam inu*
3sm/IO 3sm-need/P 1s/IO PROS watch-1s/A children 1s/POSS

018. *waš ka ye-qra-w i-bb at i-nna*
whether INP-AR 3p-learn-3p/IMP-AR 3sm-take/P 3sf/DO 3sm-say/P

019. *s susem a t-susem f*
3sf/IO listen-s/IMP PROS 3sf-listen/A IMPR

020. *ṣṣdaɛ n i-reẓẓan-en g i-ɣess-an*
noise GENPR EA/pm-hornet-pm LOCPR EA/pm-bone-pm

021. *i-reẓẓan-en tett-en i-ɣess-an huww*
EL/pm-hornet-pm eat-3p/P EL/pm-bone-pm ONOM

022. *i-qqar as ha m sell leḥšam*
3sm-say/I 3sf/IO here 2sf/IO listen-s/IMP children

023. *nnem ka ye-qra-w tṣeddaɛ-en*
2sf/POSS INP-AR 3p-learn-3p/IMP-AR make noise-3p/I

024. *nihma i-reẓẓan-en i-reẓẓan-en g i-ɣess-an*
3p/PRO EL/pm-hornet-pm EL/pm-hornet-pm LOCPR EA/pm-bone-pm

025. *li'anna a-gʲdi i-tett leḥšam n t-muda*
because EL/sm-jackal 3sm-eat/I children GENPR EA/sf-pig

026. *i-tett yan g ennhar i-tett as ten*
3sm-eat/I one LOCPR day 3sm-eat/I 3sf/IO 3p/DO

027. *xarebbi matalan sebɛa wella tmenya*
many for example seven or eight

028. *i ɣar s l leḥšam*
FOC ALPR 3sf/PREP GENPR children

029. *wella ɛašara netta i-tett ahen*
or ten 3sm/PRO 3sm-eat/I 3p/DO

030. *ayyamen t-edda d a*
days 3sf-go/P HITH PROS

031. *t-ṭella a t-susem f leḥšam nnes*
3sf-watch/A PROS 3sf-listen/A IMPR children 3sf/POSS

032. *šwa ka ye-qra-w i-nna s susem*
what INP-AR 3p-learn-3p/IMP-AR 3sm-say/P 3sf/IO listen-s/IMP

033. *šennu susem maɛna i-reẓẓan-en tett-en*
what listen-s/IMP meaning EL/pm-hornet-pm eat-3p/I

034. *šyaṭ-ahen n u-gʲdi huww i-reẓẓan-en*
leftover-p GENPR EA/sm-jackal ONOM EL/pm-hornet-pm

035. *i-nna s susem ha m ka*
3sm-say/P 3sf/IO listen-s/IMP here 2sf/IO INP-AR

036. *ye-qra-w hewa t-sasem dda fḥal a*
3p-learn-3p/IMP-AR well 3sf-listen/P 3sf-go/P way 3sf/POSS-AR

037. *ɛawed t-eqqel d a t-ṭella*
again 3sf-return/P HITH PROS 3sf-watch/A

038. *ɛawed susem ha m ka ye-qra-w*
again listen-s/IMP here 2sf/IO INP-AR 3p-learn-3p/IMP-AR

039. *membaɛd yan ennhar t-enna s*
later one day 3sf-say/P 3sm/IO

040. *xess ay a n ẓra-x xess*
3sm-need/P 1s/IO PROS 3p/DO see-1s/A 3sm-need/P

041. *ay a ẓra-x leḥšam inu a*
1s/IO PROS see-1s/A children 1s/POSS PROS

042. *ṭella-x θen a n ẓra-x*
watch-1s/A 3p/DO PROS 3p/DO see-1s/A

043. *i-nna s waxxa i-nna s*
3sm-say/P 3sf/IO all right 3sm-say/P 3sf/IO

044. *yallah ṭella das lɣar*
HOR-s watch-s/IMP there cave

045. *inši rubbama mḍiyyeq ša ssekšem*
some possibly narrow FUT 3sf-let in/A

046. *ddmaɣ nnes ma ra*
head 3sf/POSS NEG FUT

047. *d i-ffeɣ ši s emmen*
HITH 3sm-leave/A NEG INSPR what

048. *a t i-tett nettaθa nniθ*
PROS 3sf/DO 3sm-eat/I 3sf/PRO herself

049. *ša awxer ga s nettaθa*
FUT 3sm-end/A LOCPR 3sf/PREP 3sf/PRO

050. *eg t-muda leḥšam nnes*
LOCPR EA/sf-pig children 3sf/POSS

051. *i-keml ahen niga y-kmel leḥšam*
3sm-finish/P 3p/DO when 3sm-finish/P children

052. *nnes i-nna s hala*
3sf/POSS 3sm-say/P 3sf/IO come-s/IMP

053. *leḥšam nnem qra-w*
children 2sf/POSS learn-3p/PERF-AR

054. *hala ẓar-et leḥšam nnem*
come-s/IMP 2sf-see-2sf/A children 2sf/POSS

055. *i-nna s yallah ṭella ssekšem*
3sm-say/P 3sf/IO HOR-s watch-s/IMP let in-s/IMP

056. *ddmaɣ nnem maɛna saržem*
head 2sf/POSS meaning window

057. *inši wella ssekšem ddmaɣ nnem zid*
some or let in-s/IMP head 2sf/POSS HOR-s

058. *a ẓar-et leḥšam nnem*
HOR 2sf-see-2sf/A children 2sf/POSS

059. *a t-ssekšem ddmaɣ nnes*
PROS 3sf-let in/A head 3sf/POSS

060. *i-kšem ddmaɣ nnes*
3sm-enter/P head 3sf/POSS

061. *g lɣar ma ra d*
LOCPR cave NEG FUT HITH

062. *i-ffeɣ ši ma ḥetta ši d*
3sm-leave/A NEG NEG even NEG HITH

063. *i-ffeɣ i-šebbr at i-tett at*
3sm-come out/A 3sm-grab/P 3sf/DO 3sm-eat/I 3sf/DO

064. *netta zg i-ṭar-en i netta ga*
3sm/PRO ABLPR EA/pm-leg-pm COPR 3sm/PRO LOCPR

065. *s i-tett nettaθa niga θ-ẓra hadik*
3sf/PREP 3sm-eat/I 3sf/PRO when 3sf-see/P sf-DISD/AR

066. *t-ebda t-eqqar as ššḥam bin*
3sf-begin/P 3sf-say/I 3sm/IO fat between

067. *ti-ṭṭi-wan a ɛammi a-gʲdi zeɛma*
EA/pf-eye-pf VOC uncle-1s/ADN EL/sm-jackal supposedly

068. *baš i-xerrež ha baš s*
in order to 3sm-let out/IMP-AR 3sf/DO-AR in order to INSPR

069. *emmen netta y-ttuθu dar ššḥam*
what 3sm/PRO 3sm-go/I ALPR fat

070. *bin ti-ṭṭi-wan s emmen nettaθa*
between EA/pf-eye-pf INSPR what 3sf/PRO

071. *a t-xelles zga s*
PROS 3sf-pay/A ABLPR 3sm/PREP

072. *a d t-effeɣ walakin netta i-žawb at*
PROS HITH 3sf-leave/A but 3sm/PRO 3sm-reply/P 3sf/DO

073. *i-nna s amella a d at*
3sm-say/P 3sf/IO now PROS HITH 3sf/DO

074. *n-elkum inša'ellah netta mɛellem i-xeddem mɛellem*
1p-arrive/A God willing 3sm/PRO expert/PTC-AR 3sm-work/I expert/PTC-AR

2.1. The story of the jackal and the pig

The jackal visited the pig and found that she had children. The jackal said to the pig, “Give me your children so I will teach them.” He is going to teach the children of the pig. She gave her children to him so that he would teach them. He then went and ate one child each day. He was eating them. When he ate them, he threw the bones in some place. Hornets came and the hornets ate those bones. He kept teaching the children for days.

Then the pig came. She came to watch whether her children were learning. When she arrived she said to him, “I want to watch my children whether they are learning.” He took her and said to her, “Listen!” She had to listen to the noise of the hornets in the bones. The hornets were eating the bones, “Huww.” Meanwhile he was telling her, “Here you go, listen to your children while they are learning.” The hornets were making the noise, the hornets in the bones, because the jackal was eating the children of the pig. He was eating one each day. He was eating her children. There were many of them. She perhaps had seven or eight children or maybe ten and he was eating them. Some days later she came to watch and to listen to her children whether they were learning. He said to her, “Listen!” But how? That’s because the hornets were eating the leftovers of the jackal, “Huww,” the hornets went. He said to her, “Here you go, listen while they are learning.” So she listened and after that she went on her way. She came back to watch her children and again he said, “Listen while they are learning.”

Then one day she said, “I want to see them. I want to see my children. I want to watch them, to see them. He said to her, “All right.” He said to her, “Come and watch over there.” There was some kind of cave, probably a narrow one so that she would put her head through it and it would not come out. That way he would eat her. He would finish up with her, because he already finished her children. When he finished her children he said to her, “Your children have learned. Come and see your children.” He said to her, “Come and watch. Put your head in here.” Meaning, in a window or something like that. “Put your head in here. Go on and you will see your children.” She put her head through and her head went in the cave. But it couldn’t come out. It was impossible to come out. He caught her and started eating her from her legs up. When she saw this, she started saying, “Fat is between the eyes uncle jackal.” Supposedly, he would get her out in order to go to the fat between the eyes. That way she could get back on him and she would get out. But he replied to her and said to her, “I will get to that soon God willing.” He is an expert and he always acts like an expert.

3. *Lqiṣṣa n ušnekkaf i ssbaɛ*

001. *a-šnekkaf* *iδ* *u-gʲdi* *ag* *i-lla-n*
EL/sm-hedgehog COPR EA/sm-jackal PSP PTC-be-PTC/P

002. *maši* *i* *baɛṭ* *em* *nihma* *ẓar-en* *ssbaɛ*
walking/PTC-AR COMPR RCP 3p/POSS-AR 3p/PRO see-3p/P lion

003. *amça* *ẓar-en* *ssbaɛ* *i-nna* *s*
when see-3p/P lion 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

004. *a-šnekkaf* *iδ* *u-gʲdi* *qa* *γar*
EL/sm-hedgehog DATPR EA/sm-jackal INP ALPR

005. *k* *ši* *n* *lḥila-θ* *s* *emmen*
2sm/PREP some GENPR trick-p INSPR what

006. *a* *n-ḥiyyed* *zgi* *ssbaɛ* *s* *emmen*
PROS 1p-avoid/A ABLPR lion INSPR what

007. *ma* *ya* *γn* *i-šš* *γar* *k*
NEG FUT 1p/DO 3sm-eat/A ALPR 2sm/PREP

008. *ši* *n* *lḥila-θ* *i-nna* *s*
some GENP trick-p 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

009. *a-gʲdi* *γar* *i* *bezzaf* *a-šnekkaf* *i-nna*
EL/sm-jackal ALPR 1s/PREP many EL/sm-hedgehog 3sm-say/P

010. *s* *nekk* *γar* *i* *yal* *lḥila*
3sm/IO 1s/PRO ALPR 1s/PREP one trick

011. *u ssalam hewa bda-n qarrab-en daɣur*
and that's it well begin-3p/P approach-3p/I ALPR

012. *ssbaɛ kull mara qarrab-en daɣur ssbaɛ*
lion every time approach-3p/I ALPR lion

013. *a-gʲdi tešՀa-n as lḥila-θ wa g*
EL/sm-jackal run out-3p/I 3sm/IO trick-p even though PSP

014. *i-ll ɣar s bezzaf*
3sm-be/P ALPR 3sm/PREP many

015. *tešՀa-n as iδ u-šnekkaf ɣar*
run out-3p/I 3sm/IO COPR EA/sm-hedgehog ALPR

016. *s yat yal lḥila baqa θen a*
3sm/PREP one one trick remain-3sm/PRF-AR 3p/DO RLV

017. *t i-ga-n i nihma maši d*
3sf/DO PTC-be-PTC/P COPR 3p/PRO walking/PTC-AR HITH

018. *ḥetta d i-ṭlaq-aw ssbaɛ amça d*
until HITH 3p-meet-3p/IMP-AR lion when HITH

019. *i-ṭlaqaw ssbaɛ a-gʲdi ma h-qqim as*
3p-meet-3p/IMP-AR lion EL/sm-jackal NEG 3sf-stay/P 3sm/IO

020. *ḥetta ḥila ḥetta keδba a-šnekkaf*
even trick even lie EL/sm-hedgehog

021. *i-xeddem lkuδba nnes*
3sm-work/I lies 3sm/POSS

022. *s emmen a y-fleθ i-nna s*
INSPR what PROS 3sm-flee/A 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

023. *a wedd i ssbaɛ t-ufa-t anaɣ*
VOC friend 1s/POSS-AR lion 2sm-find-2sm/P 1p/DO

024. *nekkin iδ u-gʲdi n-edda d*
1s/PRO COMPR EA/sm-jackal 1p-go/P HITH

025. *daɣr eç ɣar nax yal lmuškil*
ALPR 2sm/PREP ALPR 1p/PREP one problem

026. *n-edda d daɣr eç i-nna s*
1p-go/P HITH ALPR 2sm/PREP 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

027. *amça yi-ll lmuškil aθ i-nna s*
how 3sm-be/P problem sm/PRD 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

028. *a wedd i nuhna ɣar naç*
VOC friend 1s/POSS-AR 1p/PRO ALPR 1p/PREP

029. *leḥšam n-ewdž ed leḥšam i baɛṭ na*
children 1p-leave/P HITH children COMPR RCP 1p/POSS-AR

030. *i-xess anaç a n*
3sm-need/P 1p/IO PROS 3p-DO

031. *n-ebṭu ma tfahem-na ši*
1p-divide/A NEG work out-1P/PERF-AR NEG

032. *šwa i-nna ssbaɛ i-nna a*
what 3sm-say/P lion 3sm-say/P FUT

033. *ddu-x ne šš-ex nihma i*
go-1s/A 3p/DO eat-1s/A 3p/PRO COMPR

034. *leḥšam nnsen ma ya šš-ex*
children 3p/POSS NEG FUT eat-1s/A

035. *ši ɣa nihma b*
NEG only 3p/PRO with

036. *zuž ssbaɛ amella*
two lion now

037. *niga se nna-n leḥšam nnaç*
when 3sm/IO say-3p/P children 1p/POSS

038. *i-xess anaç a n-ebṭu*
3sm-need/P 1p/IO PROS 1p-divide/A

039. *leḥšam i-nna s a ddu-x*
children 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO PROS go-1s/A

040. *a ddu a n i-šš nihma i*
PROS 3p-go/A PROS 3p/DO 3sm-eat/A 3p/PRO COMPR

041. *leḥšam nnsen a-šnekkaf iδ*
children 3p/POSS EL/sm-hedgehog COMPR

042. *u-gʲdi i leḥšam nnsen*
EA/sm-jackal COMPR children 3p/POSS

043. *ḥsen zga sen ɣa nihma*
better ABLPR 3p/PREP only 3p/PRO

044. *b zuž i-nna sen waxxa*
with two 3sm-say/P 3p/IO all right

045. *zid-u a n-fukk-u kum lmuškil*
HOR-p HOR 1p-solve-1p/IMP-AR 2p/IO-AR problem

046. *a ddu-x iδ un dd-an*
FUT go-1s/A COMPR 2p/PREP go-3p/P

047. *dar lmuṭεa ka y-sekn-u dar lγar*
ALPR place INP-AR 3p-live-3p/IMP-AR ALPR cave

048. *hewa i-dda a-šnekkaf i-nna s*
well 3sm-go/P EL/sm-hedgehog 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

049. *iδ u-gʲdi kšem kedžin lluwwel*
DATPR EA/sm-jackal enter-s/IMP 2sm/PRO first

050. *i-kšem a-gʲdi li'anna a-gʲdi meqqur wa*
3sm-enter/P EL/sm-jackal because EL/sm-jackal big-sm/ADJ and

051. *y-xess as i-kšem netta lluwwel*
3sm-need/P 3sm/IO 3sm-enter/A 3sm/PRO first-sm/ADJ-AR

052. *li'anna a-šnekkaf ḍeγya ša y-kšem*
because EL/sm-hedgehog fast FUT 3sm-enter/A

053. *i-kšem a-gʲdi lluwwel i-ḍemmen ddmaγ*
3sm-enter/P EL/sm-jackal first 3sm-secure/P head

054. *nnes zge ssbaε daxel*
3sm/POSS ABLPR lion inside

055. *membaɛd ɛawed i-kšem a-šnekkaf kešm-en*
later again 3sm-enter/P EL/sm-hedgehog enter-3p/P

056. *ge lγar nnsen hewa*
LOCPR cave 3p/POSS well

057. *niga i-nna sen ssbaɛ ana lla-n leḥšam*
then 3sm-say/P 3p/IO lion where be-3p/P children

058. *nnun hadik i-nna s nuhna*
2p/POSS sf-DISD-AR 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO 1p/PRO

059. *meqṣum-in leḥšam nnaç*
sorted-p/ADJ-AR children 1p/POSS

060. *leḥšam nnaç maɛruf-in*
children 1p/POSS well-known-p/ADJ-AR

061. *win inu s ešše̱ar*
p/RELD 1s/POSS INSPR fur

062. *win ennes s i-sennan-en*
p/RELD 3sm/POSS INSPR EA/pm-spine-pm

063. *win n u-gʲdi s ešše̱ar*
p/RELD GENPR EA/sm-jackal INSPR fur

064. *win n u-šnekkaf s i-sennan-en*
p/RELD GENPR EA/sm-jackal INSPR EA/pm-spine-pm

065. *leḥšam nnaç meqṣum-in γa*
children 1p/POSS sorted-p/ADJ-AR only

066. *llayhennik* *fḥal* *ek* *ɣa* *ndda*
solong way 2sm/POSS-AR only go-s/IMP

067. *fḥal* *ek* *nihma* *meqṣum-in*
way 2sm/POSS-AR 3p/PRO sorted-p/ADJ-AR

3.1. The story of the hedgehog and the lion

The hedgehog and the jackal were walking together when they saw the lion. When they saw the lion, the hedgehog said to the jackal, “Do you have some tricks with which we will be able to avoid the lion so that he will not eat us. Do you have some tricks?” The jackal said to him, “I have plenty.” The hedgehog said to him, “I have just one trick and that’s it.” They began approaching the lion. The closer they got to the lion the fewer tricks the jackal had left. Even though he had many of them, he was running out of them. The hedgehog had one and he still had it. They were walking towards the lion until they met with him.

When they met with him, the jackal did not have any trick, any lie, left. The hedgehog was applying his lies with which he would flee from the lion. He said, “Look my friend the lion you have found us, me and the jackal, coming to you because we have a problem. You see we have come to you.” He said, “What is the problem?” “Well we have delivered our children at one another’s place. Now we have to sort them and we couldn’t work this out ourselves.” What did the lion think? He thought, “I’d better go and eat them together with their children instead of only the two of them.” When they told him, “We have to sort our children,” he thought, “I will go.” He will go and eat them together with their children; the hedgehog, the jackal and their children. That is better than only the two of them. So he said to them, “All right let’s go and solve your problem. I will go with you.”

They went to the place where they live in a cave. The hedgehog went and said to the jackal, “You go in first.” The jackal went in because the jackal is big and therefore he must go in first since the hedgehog will go in rapidly. The jackal went in first. He secured his head inside from the lion. After that, the hedgehog went in. They went in their cave. Then the lion said to them, “Where are your children?” He said to him, “Our children are sorted. Our children are well-known, mine have fur and his have spines.” The ones of the jackal have fur and the ones of the hedgehog have spines. “So our children are sorted. Off you go on your way. Just go on your way because they are already sorted.”

4. *Lqiṣṣa n ugʲdi i ssbaε*

001. *a-gʲdi* *i-ṭlaqa* *ssbaε* *i-kṣuḍ* *zga*
EL/sm-jackal 3sm-meet/P lion 3sm-be afraid/P ABLPR

002. *s* *li'anna* *ssbaε* *a-gʲdi* *dayman*
3sm/PREP because lion EL/3sm-jackal always

003. *tekṣaḍ-en* *zge* *ssbaε* *ssbaε* *netta*
be afraid-3p/I ABLPR lion lion 3sm/PRO

004. *y* *θ* *i-ga-n* *i-kṣuḍ* *zga*
RLV 3sm/DO PTC-be-PTC/P 3sm-be afraid/P ABLPR

005. *s* *i-ṭlaqa* *θ* *i-nna* *s*
3sm/PREP 3sm-meet/P 3sm/DO 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

006. *a* *wedd* *i* *a* *εammi* *ssbaε*
VOC friend 1s/POSS-AR VOC uncle-1s/ADN lion

007. *kifaš* *kedžin* *maši* *amça* *δi*
why 2sm/PRO walking/PTC-AR like sm/PRD

008. *s* *leḥfa* *u* *kδa* *amella* *i-xess*
INSPR barefoot and so on now 3sm-need/P

009. *ay* *a* *gg-ex* *ṣebbat* *kedžin*
1s/IO PROS make-1s/A shoes 2sm/PRO

010. *maši* *amça* *δin* *kifaš* *li'anna*
walking/PTC-AR like sm/PRD why because

011. *i-kṣuḍ* *zga* *s* *i-nna* *s*
3sm-be afraid/P ABLPR 3sm/PREP 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

012. *waxxa* *amça* *a* *h-gg-et* *i*
all right how PROS 2sm-make-2sm/A DATPR

013. *ṣebbat* *in* *i-nna* *s* *i-xess*
shoes p/ANAPH 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO 3sm-need/P

014. *ay* *debbar-et* *lḥaža* *ka* *y-tsemma* *n*
1s/IO 2sm-arrange-2sm/A something INP-AR 3sm-be named/IMP-AR GENPR

015. *elželd* *ara* *gg-ex* *ṣebbat*
skin FUT make-1s/A shoes

016. *muhim* *dbiḥa* *ša* *ɣras* *t-aɣa-ṭ*
anyway slaughter animal FUT 3sm-slaughter/A EL/sf-goat-sf

017. *wella* *i-nna* *s* *lḥaža* *s* *emmen*
or 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO something INSPR what

018. *ša* *t* *n-eɣras* *lželd* *nnes*
FUT 3sf/DO 1p-slaughter/A skin 3sf/POSS

019. *ša* *gg-ex* *iδ* *es* *ṣebbat* *i-bb* *az* *d*
FUT make-1s/A COMPR 3sm/PREP shoes 3sm-take/P 3sm/IO HITH

020. *lḥaža* *yan* *ɣars-en* *teθ* *šša-n* *teθ*
something INDEF slaughter-3p/P 3sf/DO eat-3p/P 3sf/DO

021. *membaɛd* *i-nna* *s* *θa* *walu* *ma*
later 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO sf/PRD nothing NEG

022. *h-xeddam al ek ši li'anna lželd aduha*
3sf-work/IMP-AR for/IO-AR 2sm/PREP-AR NEG because leather sm/PRD

023. *i-smin bezzaf δ as šṣ̌am*
3sm-be fat/P much LOCPR 3sm/PREP fat

024. *bezzaf a bdu a-ṭar nnek*
much PROS 3sm-begin/A EL/sm-leg 2sm/POSS

025. *ka y-zleq u kδa*
INP-AR 3sm-slip/IMP-AR and so on

026. amella *i-xess ay šše̱θa ma ga*
now 3sm-need/P 1s/IO fatless NEG LOCPR

027. *s ši n smana ma*
3sf/PREP NEG GENPR fat NEG

028. *g as ši n ta-δun-t*
LOCPR 3sf/PREP NEG GENPR EA/sf-fat-sf

029. *i-bb az d ɛawed yaθ ta-yeṭ*
3sm-take/P 3sm/IO HITH again one-f sf-other

030. *ɛawed i-šš et*
again 3sm-eat/P 3sf/DO

031. *šša-n teθ i-nnas ɛawed lželd aduha*
eat-3p/P 3sf/DO 3sm-say/P again skin sm/PRD

032. *ma h-xeddam ši li'anna šaḥeθ bezzaf*
NEG 3sf-work/IMP-AR NEG because fatless-sm/ADJ-AR very

033. *amella xess aç a d*
now 3sm-need/P 2sm/IO PROS HITH

034. *ebb-et lli ma h-ell ši*
2sm-take-2sm/A RELD-AR NEG 3sf-be/P NEG

035. *smina muwaṣṣiṭ maši*
fat average NEG

036. *ga s ta-δun-t bezzaf s*
LOCPR 3sf/PREP EL/sf-fat-sf much INSPR

037. *emmen a ka y-xeddem mezyan hewa*
what PROS INP-AR 3sm-work/IMP-AR well-sm/ADJ well

038. *i-bb aθ id ṣafi*
3sm-take/P 3sf/DO HITH that's it

039. *ɣars-en ɛawed šša-n lḥam ani*
slaughter-3p/P again eat-3p/P meat sm/ANAPH

040. *i-nna s whadi ay i-lla-n*
3sm-say/P 3sm/IO sm/PRD FOC PTC-be-PTC/P

041. *xeddam lželdeθ ay i-lla-n xeddam*
working/PTC-AR skin FOC PTC-be-PTC/I working/PTC-AR

042. *i-gg as lželd g i-ṭar-en*
3sm-make/P 3sm/IO skin LOCPR EA/pm-leg-pm

043. *nnes b arbɛa i-šedd*
3sm/POSS with/PREP-AR four 3sm-bind/P

044. *as* *ten* *lmaɛna* *i-ketf* *aθ*
3sm/IO 3p/DO meaning 3sm-tie/P 3sm/DO

045. *ṣṣebbat* *in* *a* *s* *i-sker*
shoes p/ANAPH RLV 3sm/IO 3sm-make

046. *lželd* *i-gg* *as* *lželd* *g*
skin 3sm-make/P 3sm/IO skin LOCPR

047. *i-ṭar-en* *i-šedd* *as* *i-ṭar-en* *nnes*
EA/pm-leg-pm 3sm-tie/P 3sm/IO EL/pm-leg-pm 3sm/POSS

048. *i-wdž* *aθen* *kettef*
3sm-leave/P 3p/DO tied/PTC-AR

049. *i-qelb* *aθ* *i-defɛ* *aθ* *niga*
3sm-turn/P 3sm/DO 3sm-push/P 3sm/DO when

050. *θ* *i-qleb* *ssbaɛ* *i-ḥaf* *xf* *es*
3sm/DO 3sm-turn/P lion 3sm-grasp/P IMPR 3sm/PREP

051. *i-šebbr* *as* *θa-ẓelli-t* *θa-ẓelli-t* *n* *u-gʲdi*
3sm-grab/P 3sm/IO EL/sf-tail-sf EL/sf-tail-sf GENPR EA/sm-jackal

052. *i-qeṭɛ* *as* *t* *id* *i-qeṭɛ*
3sm-cut off/P 3sm/IO 3sf/DO HITH 3sm-cut off/P

053. *as* *t* *id* *šwiya* *i-qqim*
3sm/IO 3sf/DO HITH little 3sm-stay/P

054. *a-gʲdi* *i-dda* *fḥal* *u* *i-smeḥ* *ga* *s*
EL/sm-jackal 3sm-go/P way 3sm/POSS-AR 3sm-leave/P LOCPR 3sm/PREP

055. *i-šedd as i-ṭar-en nnes*
3sm-tie/P 3sm/IO EL/pm-leg-pm 3sm/POSS

056. *i-smeḥ ga s i-dda fḥal u*
3sm-leave/P LOCPR 3sm/PREP 3sm-go/P way 3sm/POSS-AR

057. *i-qqim ssbaε das*
3sm-stay/P lion there

058. *b uḥd u mkettef h-edda d*
with one 3sm/POSS-AR tied/PTC-AR 3sf-go/P HITH

059. *lqniyya ma ç i-γul a εammi*
rabbit what 2sm/DO 3sm-befall/P VOC uncle-1s/ADN

060. *ssbaε i-nna s a wedd i*
lion 3sm-say/P 3sf/IO VOC friend 1s/POSS-AR

061. *hewa dda d lqniyya nettaθa a*
well 3sf-go/P HITH rabbit 3sf/PRO FOC

062. *s i-fesç-en šwa h-sker*
3sm/IO PTC-untie-PTC/P what 3sf-do/P

063. *t-ebda t-ttawi d a-man*
3sf-begin/P 3sf-bring/I HITH EL/sm-water/coll

064. *g u-qemmum i nettaθa*
LOCPR EA/sm-mouth COPR 3sf/PRO

065. *θ-ssebzag as a-man nettaθa t-egg ahen*
3sf-make wet/I 3sm/IO EL/sm-water/coll 3sf/PRO 3sf-do/P 3p/DO

066. *fe želd an lželd i-ẓiyyar*
IMPR skin sm/ANAPH leather 3sm-be tight/P

067. *g i-ṭar-en nnes i-qqur*
LOCPR EA/pm-leg-pm 3sm/POSS 3sm-dry up/P

068. *t-egg as a-man s emmen*
3sf-do/P 3sm/IO EL/sm-water/coll INSPR what

069. *a y-tfessaç tsemma y-tfessaç lželd*
PROS 3sm-untie/I 3sm-be named/IMP-AR 3sm-untie/I skin

070. *an nettaθa θ-ssebzag as ss iha*
sm/ANAPH 3sf/PRO 3sf-make wet/I 3sm/IO INSPR there

071. *θ-ssebzag as ss iha t-ebb ed*
3sf-make wet/I 3sm/IO INSPR there 3sf-take/P HITH

072. *a-man ḥetta s t-efseç lželd an*
EL/sm-water/coll until 3sm/IO 3sf-untie/P leather sm/ANAPH

073. *fesç as lqniyya lželd an*
3sf-untie/P 3sm/IO rabbit skin sm/ANAPH

074. *i-kker ssbaɛ i-dda fḥal u i-qqim*
3sm-stand up/P lion 3sm-go/P way 3sm/POSS-AR 3sm-stay/P

075. *i-tɛayan x u-meddakul nnes*
3sm-wait/I IMPR EA/sm-friend 3sm/POSS

076. *x u-gʲdi ssbaɛ i-tɛayan hewa*
IMPR EA/sm-jackal lion 3sm-wait/I well

077. *i-qqim* *mašallah* *maši* *i-tɛayan* *yah*
3sm-stay/P at a venture walking/PTC-AR 3sm-wait/I one-f

078. *lmerra* *ka* *y-ṭlaqa* *h* *i-nna* *s*
time INP-AR 3sm-meet/IMP-AR 3sm/DO-AR 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

079. *ahlan* *s* *u-meddakul* *inu* *i-nna*
hello INSPR EA/sm-friend 1s/POSS 3sm-say/P

080. *s* *la* *nekkin* *ma* *ssn-eγ*
3sm/IO no 1s/PRO NEG know-1s/P

081. *aç* *ši* *maši* *a-meddakul* *nneç*
2sm/DO NEG NEG EL/sm-friend 2sm/POSS

082. *i-nna* *s* *kedžin* *a-meddakul* *inu*
3sm-say/P 3sm/IO 2sm/PRO EL/sm-friend 1s/POSS

083. *i-nna* *s* *kedžin* *yah* *lmerrat*
3sm-say/P 3sm/IO 2sm/PRO one-f time

084. *t-egga-t* *ay* *ṣṣebbat* *n* *elželd*
2sm-make-2sm/P 1s/IO shoes GENPR skin

085. *ha* *kifaš* *t-egga-t* *g* *i-ṭar-en*
here how 2sm-make-2sm/P LOCPR EA/pm-foot-pm

086. *inu* *s* *emmen* *zgi* *leḥfa* *u* *kδa*
1s/POSS INSPR what ABLPR barefoot and so on

087. *i-nna* *s* *la* *maši* *nekkin*
3sm-say/P 3sm/IO no NEG 1s/PRO

088. *i-nna s la kedž i-nna s*
3sm-say/P 3sm/IO no 2sm/PRO 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

089. *la maši nekkin i-nna s*
no NEG 1s/PRO 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

090. *la kedžin qeṭɛ-eɣ aç ta-ẓelli-t*
no 2sm/PRO cut off-1s/P 2sm/IO EL/sf-tail-sf

091. *nneç i-nna s la*
2sm/POSS 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO no

092. *a-ẓelli-t inu lɛayla ynu kaml-a*
EL/sf-tail-sf 1s/POSS family 1s/POSS total-sf/ADJ-AR

093. *amça y i-ga-n leḥšam n*
like sm/PRD PTC-be-PTC/P children GENPR

094. *ɛammi kulla hum mqaṭɛ-in a-ẓelli-t*
uncle-1s/ADN all 3p/POSS-AR cut off-p/ADJ-AR EL/sf-tail-sf

095. *leḥšam nnun kulla hum mqaṭɛ-in*
children 2p/POSS all 3p/POSS-AR cut off-p/ADJ-AR

096. *a-ẓelli-t i-nna s yih i-nna s*
EL/sf-tail-sf 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO indeed 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

097. *wa y-xess ay a n ẓra-x*
well 3sm-need/P 1s/IO PROS 3p/DO see-1s/A

098. *i-sker iδ es s lmiɛad i-dda*
3sm-make/P COMPR 3sm/PREP INSPR appointment 3sm-go/P

099. *a-gʲdi* *i-žmaɛ* *lɛa'ila* *n* *ɛammi*
EL/sm-jackal 3sm-gather/P family GENPR uncle

100. *nnes* *kaml-in* *lɛa'ila* *nnes*
3sm/POSS total-p/ADJ-AR family 3sm/POSS

101. *i-nna* *sen* *yallah-awθ* *ša*
3sm-say/P 3p/IO HOR-2p FUT

102. *n-açr-awθ* *lfiras* *lfiras* *wella* *y-aɛni* *lfakiha*
1p-steal-1p/HOR pears/coll pears/coll or 3sm-mean/IMP-AR fruit/coll

103. *ša* *t* *açur-en* *i-nna* *sen*
FUT 3sf/DO steal-3p/A 3sm-say/P 3p/IO

104. *yallah* *hal-u* *nekkin* *ša* *ɛalli-x*
HOR-s come-p/IMP 1s/PRO FUT go up-1s/A

105. *gʲenna* *a* *ḥezz-ex* *lfakiha*
above PROS shake-1s/A fruit/coll

106. *walakin* *kunna* *baqi* *li'anna* *ša* *y*
but 2p/PRO remaining/PTC-AR because FUT 1s/IO

107. *t-šemθ-em* *ša* *h-eddu-m* *kullši* *ša*
2p-trick-2p/A FUT 2p-go-2p/A all of you FUT

108. *t-edž-em* *nekkin* *bla* *ši*
2p-leave-2p/A 1s/PRO without something

109. *amça* *ša* *y-sker* *lqaḍiya* *d*
how FUT 3sm-make/A matter sm/PRD

110. *ša wn eqqn-ex g*
FUT 2p/DO tie-1s/A LOCPR

111. *baɛṭ kum amella a-gʲdi i-sker lḥila*
RCP 2p/POSS-AR now EL/sm-jackal 3sm-do/P trick

112. *i leḥšam n ɛammi nnes*
DATPR children GENPR uncle 3sm/POSS

113. *s emmen a t qeṭɛ-en a-ẓelli-t*
INSPR what PROS 3sf/DO cut off-3p/A EL/sf-tail-sf

114. *nnsen s emmen a*
3p/POSS INSPR what PROS

115. *tšaba-n ga s kaml-in s*
resemble-3p/I LOCPR 3sm/PREP total-p/ADJ-AR INSPR

116. *emmen ma ya θ i-šš ssbaɛ*
what NEG FUT 3sm/DO 3sm-eat/A lion

117. *muhim i-qqn asen i-ẓelli-tan nnsen*
anyway 3sm-tie/P 3p/IO EL/pf-tail-pf 3p/POSS

118. *a-ẓelli-t i-qqn asen ten a-gʲdi*
EL/sf-tail-sf 3sm-tie/P 3p/IO 3p/DO EL/sm-jackal

119. *i-ɛella gʲenna i-hezz lfakiha l lmul*
3sm-go up/P above 3sm-shake/P fruit/coll GENPR owner

120. *ah ttaçur-en amella i-hezz lfakiha ttaḥṣ-en*
RLV PTC-steal-PTC/I now 3sm-shake/P fruit/coll reap-3p/I

121. *lfakiha amça ḥṣ-en lfakiha i-neqqaṣ*
fruit/coll while reap-3p/P fruit/coll 3sm-come down/P

122. *i-qellaε i-džerra i-nna sen mul ši*
3sm-flee/P 3sm-run/P 3sm-say/P 3p/IO owner INDEF

123. *mul l lfakiha i-dda d zeεma*
owner GENPR fruit/coll 3sm-go/P HITH supposedly

124. *ša d i-du a γn*
FUT HITH 3sm-go/A PROS 1p/DO

125. *i-neγ i-džerra netta nihma qqim-en*
3sm-kill/A 3sm-run/P 3sm/PRO 3p/PRO stay-3p/P

126. *ẓuγγur-en qeṭε-en i-ẓelli-tan baεṭ em hewa*
pull-3p/I cut off-3p/P EL/pf-tail-pf RCP 3p/POSS-AR well

127. *i-dda d daγur ssbaε i-nna*
3sm-go/P HITH ALPR lion 3sm-say/P

128. *s i-berrḥ as i-žmaε leḥšam*
3sm/IO 3sm-call/P 3sm/IO 3sm-gather/P children

129. *n εammi nnes*
GENPR uncle 3sm/POSS

130. *dda-n d leḥšam n εammi*
go-3p/P HITH children of uncle

131. *nnes i-nna s ha*
3sm/POSS 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO here

132. *a* *ẓar-et* *nuhna* *kun* *na* *mqaṭɛ-in*
PROS 2sm-see-2sm/A 1p/PRO all 1p/POSS-AR cut off-p/ADJ-AR

133. *i-nna* *s* *ssbaɛ* *waxxa*
3sm-say/P 3sm/IO lion all right

134. *i-nna* *s* *ša* *skr-ex* *lqaḍiya*
3sm-say/P 3sm/IO FUT make-1s/A matter

135. *ta-yeṭ* *nekk* *a-meddakul* *inu*
f-other 1s/PRO EL/sm-friend 1s/POSS

136. *xess* *ay* *a* *θ* *ssn-ex* *u*
3sm-need/P 1s/IO PROS 3sm/DO know-1s/A and

137. *ssalam* *i-nna* *s* *baš* *te-nṭalq-u*
that's it 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO in order to 2p-run-2p/IMP-AR

138. *s* *eldžri* *ss* *iha* *dar* *muṭɛa* *yan* *a*
INSPR speed INSPR there ALPR place INDEF FUT

139. *ddu-m* *s* *eldžri* *wa* *ka* *y-ttaxer* *wa*
2p-go-2p/A INSPR speed sm/RELD INP-AR 3sm-be last/IMP-AR sm/RELD

140. *ka* *y-bqa* *laxri* *wa* *y-tɣima-n* *laxri*
INP-AR 3sm-remain/IMP-AR last sm/RELD PTC-stay-PTC/I last

141. *waniθ* *a* *θ* *i-ga-n* *a-meddakul* *inu*
sm/ANAPH RLV 3sm/DO PTC-be-PTC/P EL/sm-friend 1s/POSS

142. *lmuhim* *i-fk* *asen* *amar* *linṭilaqa* *s* *eldžri*
anyway 3sm-give/P 3p/IO order running INSPR speed

143. *džerr-en* *netta* *ttaxar* *d* *a-meddakul*
run-3p/P 3sm/PRO 3sm-be last/P HITH EL/sm-friend

144. *nnes* *ttaxar-en* *a* *θ*
3sm/POSS PTC-be last-PTC/P FOC 3sm/DO

145. *i-ga-n* *a-meddakul* *nnes* *netta* *a*
PTC-be-PTC/A EL/sm-friend 3sm/POSS 3sm/PRO PROS

146. *d* *i-ttaxar* *hewa* *di* *ssaɛaθ*
HITH PTC-be last-PTC/P well LOCPR hours

147. *i-šebbr* *aθ* *i-qleb* *ga* *s*
3sm-grab/P 3sm/DO 3sm-pay back/P LOCPR 3sm/PREP

148. *llah ižɛal baraka*
that's the end

4.1. The story of the jackal and the lion

The jackal met the lion and he was afraid of him because the jackal always fears the lion. He met him and said, “So uncle lion how come you are walking around barefoot,” and so on. “Now I need to make shoes. You are walking around like this?” That is because he feared him. He said to him, “All right. How are you going to make those shoes?” He said to him, “You have to get me something made of skin. I will make shoes.” Anyway an animal for slaughter. So he will have to slaughter a goat or something like that. He said to him, “Something which we will slaughter and use its skin to make shoes.” He got him something, which they slaughtered and ate. Later on he said to him, “No this is not going to work for you because this skin is too fat. There is too much fat in it. Your feet will start slipping,” and so on. “Now I need fatless, skin without fat. He got him another one. He ate it again. They ate and he said, “This skin will not work again because it is too skinny. Now you have to get me one without too much fat just a mediocre amount. That way it will work well.” He got it. They slaughtered again and they ate the meat. He said to him, “Well this one will work just fine.” He put the skin on all four of his feet and he tied them up. So he tied them up. He left them tied up and ten turned him on his back and pushed him. When he turned him, the lion grabbed him and cut his tail a bit. He stayed there. The jackal went on his way and he left him. He had tied up his feet and left him and went on his way while the lion stayed there alone and tied up.

Then the rabbit came. “What happened to you uncle lion?” He said to her, “Ah well…” So the rabbit was the one who untied him. What did she do? She started getting water in her mouth and she made it wet for him with the water. She poured the water on the skin. The skin was tightly tied on his feet and had dried up. She poured the water so that the skin would loosen. She poured the water here and there and she untied the skin. She untied the skin and the lion stood up and went on his way. He kept waiting for his ‘friend’ the jackal. The lion was waiting. Then he kept walking on a venture while he was waiting.

One time he met him and he said, “Hello there my friend.” He said to him, “No I don’t know you. I am not your friend.” He said to him, “You are my friend. One time you made shoes of skin for me, that’s how. You put them on my feet so I wouldn’t have to walk barefoot,” and so on. He said to him, “No it’s not me.” He said to him, “No it’s you.” He said to him, “No it’s not me.” He said to him, “No it’s you, I have cut your tail.” He said to him, “No my whole family has a tail like this. The children of my uncle all have a cut tail.” He said to him, “Is that so? All right I want to see them.” So he made an appointment with him.

The jackal went and gathered the whole family of his uncle and told them, “Come on let’s steal pears.” That’s to say pears or some other fruit which they would steal. He said to them, “Come on. I will go up

and shake the fruit. But you have to stay because otherwise you will trick me and you will all go and leave me here without anything." How did he solve this matter? "I will tie you up to one another." Now the jackal tricked the children of his uncle. That way their tail would be cut so all of them would resemble him so that the lion will not eat him. Anyway he tied their tails to one another and he climbed up and shook the fruit of the owner they were stealing. He shook the fruit and they reaped the fruit. Then he came down, and ran away while saying to them, "An owner," as if it were true. "The owner of the fruit is coming! He will come and kill us." He ran away and they stayed there. They were pulling and cut the tails of one another.

Then he went to the lion and called him. He had gathered the children of his uncle and they had come. He said to him, "Here you can see that all of them have a cut tail." The lion said to him, "Very well. I will have to do another test because I need to find out who my friend is. I only want to know who he is, that's all." He said, "We have to hold a running contest. You have to run to that place over there and the one who will be last is the one who is my friend." Anyway, he gave his order to run. They ran and the one who would finish last would be his friend. He was the one who finished last and so after a while he caught him. That way he got back at him. The end.

5. *Tiḥemmaran*

001. *ṭwil ma y-skar ḍill*
long NEG 3sm-make/I shadow

002. *a-zref*
EL/sm-road

003. *perper-en ma neṭṭg-en*
flap-3p/I NEG fly-3p/I

004. *ti-ṭṭa-wan*
EL/pf-eye-pf

005. *ɣar i ṭṭaq i-kkar s ti-wfal-an*
ALPR 1s/PREP niche 3sm-be full/P INSPR EA/pf-egg-pf

006. *a-qemmum*
EL/sm-mouth

007. *ɣar i žuž n mqali g ya w-sammir*
ALPR 1s/PREP two GENPR frying pans LOCPR one EA/sm-vast space

008. *i-mezg-an*
EL/pm-ear-pm

009. *dda-n d dar t-gg^{w}ur-t ḥešm-u*
go-3p/P HITH ALPR EA/sf-door-sf be ashamed-3p/PRF-AR

010. *ṣṣebbat*
shoes

5.1. Riddles

It is long but it does not have a shadow.
A road.

They flap but they do not fly.
Eyes.

I have a niche full of eggs.
A mouth.

I have two frying pans in a vast space.
Ears.

They went to the door and were ashamed (to enter).
Shoes.

6. ***Baḥiθ g šš̈elḥa***

001. *i-dda d γar i nnhar l larbeε*
3sm-go/P HITH ALPR 1s/PREP day GENPR wednesday

002. *yan ax zg hulanda baḥiθ g*
INDEF brother ABLPR PLN researcher LOCPR

003. *šš̈elḥa ism ennes žamal i-dda d*
Berber name 3sm/POSS PNN 3sm-go/P HITH

004. *γar i i-ṣeqṣa x buḥmed qqim-ex*
ALPR 1s/PREP 3sm-ask/P IMPR PLN sit-1s/P

005. *iδ es i-bda i-tṣeqṣa y x*
COMPR 3sm/PREP 3sm-begin/P 3sm-ask/I 1s/DO IMPR

006. *šš̈elḥa i nekk qqra-γ as t-elkem*
Berber COPR 1s/PRO say-1s/I 3sm/IO 3sf-arrive/P

007. *d εa xemsa i-dda fḥal u dar*
HITH ALPR five 3sm-go/P way 3sm/POSS-AR ALPR

008. *ṭiṭwan i-qqel d alaẓen nekki dda-x*
PLN 3sm-return/P HITH tomorrow 1s/PRO go-1s/P

009. *dar mθar i-sker iδ i*
ALPR PLN 3sm-make/P COMPR 1s/PREP

010. *baš n-ṭlaq-aw gi lwaḥda membaεd niga*
in order to 1p-meet-1p/IMP-AR LOCPR one-f later when

011. *dda-x ufa-x θ i-dda ɛlla bnimenṣur*
go-1s/P find-1s/P 3sm/DO 3sm-go/P 3s-go up/P PLN

012. *i-nna s i lḥusayn alaẓen*
3sm-say/P 3sm/IO DATPR PNN tomorrow

013. *ša d qql-ex gi ṣṣbaḥ i-nna s*
FUT HITH return-1s/A LOCPR morning 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

014. *i- ṭlaqa i ssiyyed ani i-ṭlaqa ni*
3sm-meet/IMP-AR COMPR man sm/ANAPH 3sm-meet/IMP-AR 1s/DO-AR

015. *i nekkin qql-eɣ d ɛla fḥal i*
COPR 1s/PRO return-1s/P HITH on way 1s/POSS-AR

016. *dar u-xeyyam nekkin ɛella-x dar u-xeyyam*
ALPR EA/sm-house 1s/PRO go up-1s/P ALPR EA/sm-house

017. *atgʲam qql-eɣ d a d qql-eɣ*
yesterday return-1s/P HITH PROS HITH return-1s/P

018. *ɛa buḥmed qqim-ex tsagʲam-ex θ i-kker*
ALPR PLN stay-1s/P wait-1s/I 3sm/DO 3sm-stand up/P

019. *a d i-gwer zg bnimenṣur n-ekker n-ṭlaq-aw*
PROS HITH 3sm-return/A ABPLR PLN 1p-stand up/P 1p-meet-1p/IMP-AR

020. *n-ekker a n-eqqim gi lmaḥal i-qqim*
1p-stand up/P PROS 1p-sit/A LOCPR room 3sm-stay/P

021. *i-tṣeqṣa ya x lebɛaḍ l lmasa'il*
3sm-ask/I 1s/DO IMPR some GENPR things

022. *n* *šše*ḷ*ha* *i* *nekk* *qqra-ɣ* *as*
GENPR Berber COPR 1s/PRO say-1s/I 3sm/IO

023. *ḥetta* *n-eçmel*
until 1p-finish/P

6.1. Berber linguist

A brother from Holland, a Berber linguist visited me Wednesday. His name is Jamal. He came to me and he asked about Bu Aḥmed. I sat with him and he started asking me about Berber and I was telling him about it. At five o'clock, he went away to Tétouan.

He came back the day after and I went to Amtar. He made an appointment with me at one o'clock in the afternoon. When I later came back, I found that he had gone to Bni Menṣur and that he told Husayn, "I will come back in the morning." He said that he would meet that man, that he would meet me. So I went back to my own house. I came back to Bu Aḥmed and sat waiting. Then he came back and we met. We sat in the room, he was asking me certain things about Berber and I was telling him until we finished.

7. *Tameɣra*

001. *lɛurs* *ne-qqar* *as* *ta-meɣr-a* *ne-skar* *sβani* *i* *t-sla-t*
wedding 1p-say/I 3sf/IO EL/sf-wedding-sf 1p-make/I bridal scarf DATPR EA/sf-bride-sf

002. *ne-qqar* *as* *ta-sla-t* *ne-skar* *as* *sβani* *n-sanay* *t*
1p-say/I 3sf/IO EL/sf-bride-sf 1p-make/I 3sf/IO bridal scarf 1p-lift/I 3sf/DO

003. *f* *lebhima* *n-erraz* *ah* *ed* *daɣur* *lɛa'ila* *iwa* *ṣafi* *ɛawed* *ttaqalid*
IMPR mule 1p-return/I 3sf/DO HITH ALPR family well that's it again tradition

004. *n-sanay* *t* *be* *ddar* *u-xeyyam* *nnes* *a-xeyyam* *hiya* *ddar*
1p-lift/I 3sf/DO in house EA/sm-house 3sf/POSS EL/sm-house 3sf/PRO-AR house

005. *lmakla* *ka* *n-ddebḥ-u* *ne-qqres* *ayfat* *i*
food INP-AR 1p-slaughter-1p/IMP-AR 1p-slaughter/I EL/cows COPR

006. *t-ɣa-ṭan* *ssaɛa* *ne-žmaɛ* *žžiran* *kaml-in* *n-qul*
EA/pf-goat-pf hour 1p-gather/A neighbours total-p/ADJ-AR 1p-call/IMP-AR

007. *žžmaɛa* *kaml-in* *ne-žmaɛ* *žžmaɛa* *kaml-in* *n-tɛeššay* *ahen*
village total-p/ADJ-AR 1p-gather/A village total-p/ADJ-AR 1p-dine/I 3p/DO

008. *kaml-in* *baɛd* *g* *be* *llil* *t-ebda* *ta-meɣr-a*
total-p/ADJ-AR after LOCPR in evening 3sf-begin/A EL/sf-wedding-sf

009. *ta-meɣr-a* *yumayen* *nnhar* *ad* *lḥinna* *g* *be*
EL/sf-wedding-sf two days day sm/PRD pre-wedding celebration LOCPR in

010. *llil* *n-žemɛ-u* *lɛa'ila* *ṣṣbaḥ* *n-reffez* *d* *ṭṭḥin*
evening 1p-gather-1p/IMP-AR family morning 1p-knead/A HITH flour

011. *a-ɣrum* *ka* *n-ɛežn-u* *h* *ne-šɛal* *lfarn* *n-ttawi*
EL/sm-bread INP-AR 1p-knead-1p/IMP-AR 3sm/DO-AR 1p-light/I oven 1p-take/I

012. *d* *i-seṭṭuḥ-en* *i-sɣar-en* *n-ttawy* *ihen* *d* *zgi*
HITH EL/pm-stick-pm EL/pm-large sticks-pm 1p-take/I 3p/DO HITH ABLPR

013. *ṭuzɣi* *i* *leɛwad* *ɛlaḥsab* *leɛwad* *ka* *y-žib-u* *leḥlu*
kitchen COPR customs depending customs INP-AR 3p-get-3p/IMP-AR sweets

014. *fe* *lferran* *dik* *lɛurs* *ḥna* *ka* *ne-ḥmi-w* *hum*
in baker sf/DISD-AR feast 1p/PRO-AR INP-AR 1p-bake-1p/IMP-AR 3p/DO-AR

015. *n-ttawi* *d* *i-seṭṭuḥ-en* *n-žemɛ-u* *medden* *nnhar* *a*
1p-take/I HITH EL/pm-stick-pm 1p-gather-1p/IMP-AR people day sm/PRD

016. *gi* *ṣṣbaḥ* *ša* *dfu-t* *nnhar* *l* *lḥinna*
LOCPR morning FUT 2sf-turn out-2sf/A day GENPR pre-wedding celebration

017. *ta-sla-t* *an* *i-lla-n* *nnhar* *a* *g* *u-xeyyam* *ma*
EL/sf-bride-sf sf//DISD PTC-be-PTC/P day sm/PRD LOCPR EA/sm-house NEG

018. *ra* *qqim* *ši* *g* *u-xeyyam* *n* *baba* *nnes* *ma*
FUT 3sf-stay/A NEG LOCPR EA/sm-house GENPR father 3sf/POSS NEG

019. *ra* *qqim* *ši* *g* *u-xeyyam* *n* *baba* *nnes*
FUT 3sf-stay/A NEG LOCPR EA/sm-house GENPR father 3sf/POSS

020. *ṣṣbaḥ* *aduha* *nnhar* *l* *lḥinna* *ma* *ra* *dfu*
morning sm/PRD day GENPR pre-wedding celebration NEG FUT 3sf-turn/A

021. *ši* *ddha* *ge* *ṣṣbaḥ* *nnhar* *a* *n-ekker* *gi* *ṣṣbaḥ*
NEG here LOCPR morning day sm/PRD 1p-stand up/A LOCPR morning

022. *ša* *ddu* *yat* *t-meṭṭu-t* *t-ttuθu* *d* *t-ebb* *at*
FUT 3sf-go/A one EA/sf-woman-sf 3sf-go/I HITH 3sf-take/A 3sf/DO

023. *t-ebb* *at* *dar* *ddšar* *em* *hadi* *ša* *t-ebb*
3sf-take/A 3sf/DO ALPR village 3p/POSS-AR sf/PRD-AR FUT 3sf-take/A

024. *at* *dar* *ddšar* *wa-yeṭ* *maθalan* *dar* *buḥmed* *bɛida*
3sf/DO ALPR village sm-other for example ALPR PLN far

025. *maθalan* *ne-qṣem* *lmagana* *neṣṣ* *saɛa* *men* *miθal* *ša*
for example 1p-divide/A watch half hour from example FUT

026 *ddu-n* *daγr* *es* *qqim-en* *γr* *es* *ša* *qqim-en* *γar*
go-3p/A ALPR 3sf/PREP stay-3p/A ALPR 3sf/PREP FUT stay-3p/A ALPR

027. *es* *galsa* *g* *u-xeyyam* *lžemɛa* *galsa* *g* *u-xeyyam*
3sf/PREP sitting LOCPR EA/sm-house group sitting LOCPR EA/sm-house

028. *n* *baba* *nnes* *lžemɛa* *l* *lžiran* *kaml-in*
GENPR father 3sf/POSS group GENPR neighbours total-p/ADJ-AR

029. *ta-sla-t* *an* *t-qellaɛ* *t-qellaɛ* *i* *lžemɛa* *g*
EL/sf-bride-sf sf/DISD 3sf-leave/A 3sf-leave/A COPR group LOCPR

030. *u-xeyyam* *n* *baba* *nnes* *lžemɛi* *ka*
EA/sm-house GENPR father 3sf/POSS group INP-AR

031. *y-tsemma* *lžemɛa* *ši* *y-reffes*
3sm-be named/IMP-AR group someone 3sm-knead/I

032. *xemsa* *setta* *ḥetta* *tesɛud* *n* *i-šɛin-en*
five six even nine GENPR EA/pm-bucket-pm

033. *ka* *y-smat* *ṭṭḥin* *leɛšir* *leqmaḥ* *ka*
INP-AR 3sm-be named/IMP-AR flour barley wheat INP-AR

034. *n-ɛežn-u* *ka* *ne-ḥmi-w* *fe* *lferran* *ši* *ka*
1p-knead-1p/IMP-AR INP-AR 1p-bake-1p/IMP-AR in oven someone INP-AR

035. *y-qerreṣ* *ši* *ka* *y-ḥmi* *g* *lfernu*
3sm-make flat/IMP-AR someone INP-AR 3sm-bake/IMP-AR LOCPR oven

036. *yat* *tqerreṣ* *t* *ša* *y-tqerreṣ* *ša*
one 3sf-make flat/I 3sm/DO someone 3sm-make flat/I someone

037. *y-šeɛɛal* *ša* *y-tekkes* *d* *a-γrum* *ahen* *lḥamya* *lḥamya*
3sm-bake/I someone 3sm-get out/I HITH EL/sm-read sm/DISD baked baked

038. *n* *u-γrum* *lḥamya* *n* *u-γrum* *ma*
GENPR EA/sm-bread baked GENPR EA/sm-bread NEG

039. *ne-kkes* *t* *ze* *lfar* *niçna* *tesɛud* *aw*
1p-get out/A 3sm/DO ABLPR oven 1p/PRO nine or

040. *tmenya* *n* *i-šɛin-en* *ne-žmeɛ* *ka* *te-smaɛ*
eight GENPR EA/pm-bucket-pm 1p-gather/A INP-AR 2s-listen/IMP-AR

041. *hadi* *aw* *ka* *n-žemɛ-u* *h* *ttuθu-n* *d*
sf/PRD or INP-AR 1p-gather-1p/IMP-AR 3sm/DO-AR go-3p/I HITH

042. *mɛelmin* *lγayṭa* *žuž* *n* *ṭṭebbalin* *i* *žuž* *lγiyaṭin*
musicians oboe players two GENPR drummers COPR two oboe players

043. *ka* *y-ṭbel* *tkaθa-n* *ka* *y-ṭbel* *i-rgʲaz-en*
INP-AR 3sm-drum/IMP-AR hit-3p/I INP-AR 3sm-drum/IMP-AR EL/pm-man-pm

044. *žuž* *n* *i-rgʲaz-en* *arbɛa* *ḥna* *daba* *ma* *ka*
two GENPR EA/pm-man-pm four 1p/PRO-AR now NEG INP-AR

045. *n-qul-u* *š* *aḥidus* *lmɛelmin* *ka* *n-qul-u*
1p-say-1p/IMP-AR NEG Berber folk dance musicians INP-AR 1p-say-1p/IMP-AR

046. *hum* *arbɛa* *žuž* *qbila* *tmenya* *kullši* *mežmuɛ* *zuž* *tɣiyaṭ-en*
3p/DO-AR four two tribes eight everyone together two play the oboe-3p/I

047. *i* *zuž* *ṭebbal-en* *ka* *n-žemɛ-u* *h* *ka*
COPR two drum-3p/I INP-AR 1p-gather-1p/IMP-AR 3sm/DO-AR INP-AR

048. *y-tsemɛ-u* *ka* *y-žemɛ-u* *qbila* *kaml-a*
3p-listen-3p/IMP-AR INP-AR 3p-gather-3p/IMP-AR tribe total-sf/ADJ-AR

049. *ta-sla-t* *rraz-en* *d* *ed* *n-sanay* *t* *g* *u-xeyyam*
EL/sf-bride-sf return-3p/I 3sf/DO HITH 1p-lift/I 3sf/DO LOCPR EA/sm-house

050. *ka* *y-tsemma* *n* *žžiran* *bb-en* *d* *ed*
INP-AR 3sm-be named/IMP-AR GENPR neighbours take-3p/A 3sf/DO HITH

051. *dar* *u-xeyyam* *n* *baba* *nnes* *ama* *g* *be* *llil*
ALPR EA/sm-house GENPR father 3sf/POSS but LOCPR in evening

052. *leɛša* *fayθa* *džuhin* *ḥḍaš* *wella* *ṭenɛaš* *rraz-en* *d* *ed*
nightprayer by-gone around eleven or twelve return-3p/I 3sf/DO HITH

053. *sers-en* *tet* *di* *ssaɛa* *tɛešša-n* *medden* *ihin*
put-3p/I 3sf/DO LOCPR hour dine-3p/I people p/ANAPH

054. *kaml-in* *kullši* *ka* *y-tsemma* *lḥaḍer* *kullši*
total-p/ADJ-AR everyone INP-AR 3sm-be named/IMP-AR attendees all

055.	*i-tsemma*		*ta-qbil-t*	*kaml-a*	*hadi*	*dda-n*
	3sm-be named/IMP-AR		EL/sf-tribe-sf	total-sf/ADJ-AR	sf/PRD	go-3p/A

056.	*tɛeššay-en*	*ten*	*kaml-in*
	dine-3p/I	3p/DO	total-p/ADJ-AR

7.1. The wedding

We call a wedding '*tameɣra*'. We put a bridal scarf on the bride which we call '*taslat*'. After we have put the bridal scarf on her we put her on a mule and then we return her to the family. That's the way it is. One of the other traditions is to bring her to the house. We call a house '*axeyyam*'. As for the food, we usually slaughter cows and goats. At a certain moment we gather all the neighbours that is to say the whole village. We serve dinner to each and every one of them. In the evening the wedding starts. The wedding takes two days.

The first day is called '*lḥinna*' and the next day we gather the family together. We make bread by kneading bread dough made of flour. We light the cooking oven. We get wood sticks, large ones, from the kitchen for that. And we have several other customs. Depending on the customs people can buy sweets from the baker. On the wedding day we bake them. They get wood sticks. We gather the people that day. The next morning is the day of '*lḥinna*'. The bride will be at her home the day before but she does not stay in the house of her father.

On the day of '*lḥinna*' we will not be here in the morning. We wake up in the morning. One woman goes to the village of the bride and gets her and brings her to the other village. For example she will be brought to Bu Aḥmed. Anyway a far place maybe half an hour away. They go to her and sit with her in the house. So the group of people will be sitting in the house of her father. The whole group of neighbours will be present. Then the bride leaves while the people stay in the house of her father this group is called '*lžemɛa*'.

Some people knead the bread dough. We use five, six up to even nine buckets of flour. This is called '*ṭṭḥin*' that is barley or wheat. After we have kneaded it we bake it in the cooking oven. Some people make the bread dough flat while other people bake it in the cooking oven. One puts the bread dough in the cooking oven while the other makes it flat. Another bakes it and yet another gets the baked bread out of the cooking oven. We don't get it out ourselves. So we bake bread using nine or perhaps eight buckets of flour.

So when the people are gathered the musicians come. There are two drummers and two oboe players. The two men beat the drums. So that totals up to four musicians. We don't call this '*aḥidus*' anymore. We just call them musicians. There are four of them in two villages so a total of eight musicians. Two of them play the oboe and two beat the drums. We gather the people and they listen to it. The whole village is gathered. The people return the bride and bring her to the house. That is to say from the house of one of the

neighbours to the house of her father. But they do this in the evening after the nightprayer around eleven or twelve o’clock. Then they return her. After a while all the people have dinner that is to say all the people who are present so the whole village.

8. *Lḥinna*

001. *nnhar* *l* *lḥinna* *ka* *ne-mši-w* *u*
day GENPR pre-wedding celebration INP-AR 1p-go-1p/IMP-AR and

002. *n-žemɛ-u* *lɛa'ila* *ka* *ne-šɛel* *ka*
1p-gather-1p/IMP-AR family INP-AR 1p-light-1p/IMP-AR INP-AR

003. *ne-ḥmi-w* *n-reffes* *t* *ne-qqres* *ti-ɣa-ṭan* *ne-ssaɣ*
1p-bake-1p/IMP-AR 1p-knead/I 3sm/DO 1p-slaughter/I EL/pf-goat-pf 1p-buy/I

004. *t-as-a* *ša* *t* *ne-ɣras* *i* *t-meɣr-a*
EL/sf-cow-sf FUT 3sf/DO 1p-slaughter/A DATPR EA/sf-wedding-sf

005. *ti-mɣar-an* *srid-en* *leqšuɛ* *tuwdžad-en* *lmakla* *snaw-en* *daxel*
EL/pf-woman-pf wash-3p/I dirty dishes prepare-3p/I food cook-3p/I inside

006. *i-rgʲaz-en* *qqers-en* *ti-ɣa-ṭan* *i* *lḥinna*
EL/pm-man-pm slaughter-3p/I EL/pf-goat-pf DATPR pre-wedding celebration

007. *berra* *g* *be* *llil* *ttuθu-n* *d* *lmɛelmin* *mɛa* *lfamila*
outside LOCPR in evening go-3p/I HITH musicians with family

008. *n* *u-sli* *ka* *n-žemɛ-u* *lɛa'ila* *kaml-a*
GENPR EA/sm-groom INP-AR 1p-gather-1p/IMP-AR family total-sf/ADJ-AR

009. *i* *tu-qbil-t* *b* *ṣṣbaḥ* *ti-sla-t* *t-qellaɛ*
COPR EA/sf-tribe-sf in morning EL/sf-bride-sf 3sf-leave/I

010. *daɣur* *žžiran* *gi* *lmaɣrib* *ne-rraz* *ah* *ed*
ALPR neighbours LOCPR evening 1p-return/I 3sf/DO HITH

011. *n-sanay et f lebhima n-ttawy ahen d dar*
1p-lift/I 3sf/DO IMPR mule 1p-take/I 3p/DO HITH ALPR

012. *u-xeyyam n baba nnes n-tɛešša yahen i medden*
EA/sm-house GENPR father 3sf/POSS 1p-dine/I 3p/DO COPR people

013. *ttuθu-n fḥal em alaẓen ge ṣṣbaḥ ne-tfaw d*
go-3p/I way 3p/POSS-AR tomorrow LOCPR morning 1p-turn out/I HITH

014. *ɣar nax ta-meɣr-a n-ttuθu fsir n t-sla-t*
ALPR 1p/PREP EL/sf-wedding-sf 1p-go/I after GENPR EA/sf-bride-sf

015. *n-erry ah ed dar u-xeyyam n baba nnes*
1p-return/A 3sf/DO HITH ALPR EA/sm-house GENPR father 3sf/POSS

016. *n-ɣarem t-ɣarm as yat t-meṭṭu-t n-ɣarem*
1p-compensate/A 3sf-compensate/A 3sf/IO one EA/sf-woman-sf 1p-compensate/A

017. *fe ẓẓenqa n-kemmel s leɣrama n-sanay et f*
on street 1p-finish/A INSPR compensation ritual 1p-lift/I 3sf/DO IMPR

018. *lebhima a t-ttuθu fḥal a dar u-xeyyam nnes*
mule PROS 3sf-go/I way 3sf/POSS-AR ALPR EA/sm-house 3sf/POSS

8.1. The pre-wedding celebration

On the day of '*lḥinna*' we go and gather the family. We light the cooking oven and we prepare the food. We knead the bread dough and we slaughter goats. We buy a cow to slaughter for the wedding. The women wash the dirty dishes and prepare the food. They cook inside the house while the men slaughter the goats for '*lḥinna*' outside the house.

In the evening the musicians come with the family of the groom. We gather the whole family and the village. In the morning the bride leaves and goes to the neighbours. In the evening we return her. We put her on a mule and bring her back to her father's house. We serve dinner to the people and after that the people return to their homes.

The next morning is the day of the wedding. We bring the bride to her father's house and we hold a ceremony called '*leγrama*'. One woman gathers money from the people for the bride. Then we put her on a mule and off she goes to her own home.

9. *Lfarn n waçal*

001. *n-ttayem* *d* *a-man* *s* *tala* *ne-ddu* *ne-ḥfar*
1p-get water/I HITH EL/sm-water/coll INSPR source 1p-go/A 1p-dig/A

002. *a-çal* *n-tkebb* *as* *a-man* *g* *wa-çal* *δi*
EL/sm-earth 1p-pour/I 3sm/IO EL/sm-water/coll LOCPR EA/sm-earth LOCPR

003. *ssaɛaθ* *n-reffes* *a-çal* *n-ewdž* *at* *i-rteḥ* *ḥetta* *yi-rteḥ*
hours 1p-knead/I EL/sm-earth 1p-leave/A 3sm/DO 3sm-rest/A until 3sm-rest/A

004. *ne-sker* *ḍḍawra* *i* *lfarn* *i-tγima* *telt* *iyyam* *u* *rebɛ*
1p-make/A circle COPR oven 3sm-remain/I three days or four

005. *iyyam* *ḥetta* *y-çemmel* *niga* *y-çemmel* *ḍḍawra* *laxriyy-a* *ne-sker*
days until 1p-finish/A when 1p-finish/A circle of stones last-sf/ADJ 1p-make/A

006. *as* *ta-šɛul-t* *s* *emmen* *a* *y-ttγar* *s* *emmen* *a*
3sm/IO EL/sf-little fire-sf INSPR what PROS 3sm-set/A INSPR what PROS

007. *y-qqur* *mezyan* *hadik* *ssaɛa* *n-ebb* *ed* *i-sγar-an*
3sm-dry up/A well sf/DISD-AR hour 1p-take/A HITH EL/pm-large sticks-pm

008. *ssaɛa* *ne-fk* *as* *lɛafya* *a* *nu* *mezyan* *zge* *ṣṣbaḥ*
hour 1p-give/A 3sm/IO fire PROS 3sm-be baked/A well ABLPR morning

009. *dar* *lmaγrib* *ne-snaw* *lfarn* *i-nwa* *mezyan* *n-šeṭṭab* *eθ*
ALPR evening 1p-bake/I oven 3sm-be baked/P well 1p-sweep/I 3sm/DO

010. *hadik* *ssaɛa* *ne-skar* *di* *s* *a-γrum*
3sf/DISD-AR hour 1p-make//I LOCPR 3sm/PREP EL/sm-bread

9.1. The clay oven

First we get water from a source. Then we dig for earth and we pour water on that earth. Then we knead this clay. We then leave it to rest. If it has come to rest we mold it into a ring-shaped form. It takes three to four days to complete the clay oven. When the last circle is complete we make a little fire so that it will dry up and become hard.

After a while we get large wood sticks and after that we set them on fire so that the clay will bake properly. We bake the clay oven from sunrise till sunset. When it has baked well we sweep it. And after that we bake bread in it.

10. *Lfilaḥa*

001. *f* *žžbel* *kkerz-en* *lfilaḥa* *kkerz-en* *i-βaw-en* *medden*
in mountains cultivate-3p/I agriculture cultivate-3p/I EL/pm-bean-pm people

002. *gi* *lweqt* *l* *leḥṣad* *tḥeṣṣa-n* *lγilla* *ttawy-en* *d* *zerεa* *bb-en*
LOCPR time GENPR harvest reap-3p/I crops take-3p/I HITH seed take-3p/A

003. *d* *lḥebb* *kkerz-en* *kkerz-en* *lḥebb* *kkerz-en* *irden*
HITH seed cultivate-3p/I cultivate-3p/I seed cultivate-3p/I EL/wheat/coll

004. *kkerz-en* *i-βaw-en* *kkerz-en* *leɛṭes* *žmiε* *l'umur* *n* *elfilaḥa*
cultivate-3p/I EL/pm-bean-pm cultivate-3p/I lentils all things GENPR agriculture

005. *kkerz-en* *tegg-en* *ksiba* *tegg-en* *uçfat* *tegg-en* *ti-γa-ṭan*
cultivate-3p/I do-3p/I cattle/coll do-3p/I cows do-3p/I EL/pf-goat-pf

006. *rraz-en* *lebṣal* *rraz-en* *bṭaṭa* *rraz-en* *ti-sker-t* *imçi*
sow-3p/I onions/coll sow-3p/I potatoes/coll sow-3p/I EL/sf-garlic-sf/coll if

007. *wfa-n* *ɛawed* *lxidma* *xeddm-en* *ɛawed* *yan* *inši* *i-xeddem* *i-tsag^{j}am*
find-3p/A again work work-3p/I again INDEF person 3sm-work/I 3sm-wait/I

008. *ɛawed* *niga* *d* *e-lkem* *ta-nebdu-t* *kkerz-en* *lfilaḥa*
again when HITH 3sf-arrive/A EL/sf-summer-sf cultivate-3p/I agriculture

009. *ɛawed* *džemmε-en* *lfilaḥa* *nnsen* *meggr-en* *džemε-en* *lfilaḥa* *nnsen*
again gather-3p/I agriculture 3p/POSS harvest-3p/I gather-3p/I agriculture 3p/POSS

010. *meggr-en* *lfilaḥa* *imçi* *γar* *sen* *leɛṭes* *qellε-en* *teθ* *imçi*
harvest-3p/I agriculture if ALPR 3p/PREP lentils pull-3p/I 3sf/DO if

011. *ɣar* *sen* *i-βaw-en* *ɛawed* *qellɛ-en* *teθ* *tserwaθ-en* *lfilaḥa*
ALPR 3p/PREP EL/pm-bean-pm again pull-3p/I 3sf/DO plough-3p/I agriculture

012. *nnsen* *džemmɛ-en* *lfilaḥa* *nnsen* *weqqf-en* *džemmɛ-en* *a-lum* *nnsen*
3p/POSS gather-3p/I agriculture 3p/POSS wait-3p/I gather-3p/I EL/sm-hay 3p/POSS

013. *rraz-en* *bṭaṭa* *žuž* *lmerraθ* *ge* *lɛam* *rraz-en* *bṭaṭa* *g*
sow-3p/I potatoes/coll two times LOCPR year sow-3p/I potatoes/coll LOCPR

014. *ɣušt* *ge* *ššhar* *tmenya* *qellɛ-en* *teθ* *ge* *ššhar* *ḥḍaš* *ɛawed*
August LOCPR month eight pull-3p/I 3sf/DO LOCPR month eleven again

015. *ge* *ššhar* *žuž* *rraz-en* *bṭaṭa* *ɛawed* *qellɛ-en* *teθ* *ge* *ššhar*
LOCPR month two sow-3p/I potatoes/coll again pull-3p/I 3sf/DO LOCPR month

016. *xemsa* *ge* *ššhar* *setta* *imçi* *wfa-n* *lxidma* *xeddm-en* *s* *leflus*
five LOCPR month six if find-3p/A work work-3p/I INSPR money

017. *gi* *mmen* *ma* *yi-lla-n* *imçi* *wfa-n* *lxidma* *g* *leḥṣad*
LOCPR what what PTC-be-PTC/P if find-3p/A work LOCPR harvest

018. *meggr-en* *ufa-n* *lxidma* *gi* *t-fellaḥ-t* *ɛawed* *i-xeddem*
harvest-3p/I find-3p/A work LOCPR EA/sf-agriculture-sf again 3sm-work/I

019. *ɛawed* *kayn* *lfilaḥa* *g* *u-xeyyam* *ennes* *i-skar*
again be-sm/PTC-AR agriculture LOCPR EA/sm-house 3sm/POSS 3sm-make/I

020. *lfilaḥa* *nnes* *uw* *i-skar* *ksiba* *leḥšam* *tegg-en* *ksiba*
agriculture 3sm/POSS and 3sm-make/I cattle/coll children do-3p/I cattle/coll

021. *ɛawed* *la* *ɣar* *s* *leḥšam* *tegg-en* *ksiba* *ti-ɣa-ṭan* *iδ*
again if ALPR 3sm/PREP children do-3p/I cattle/coll EL/pf-goat-pf COPR

022. *awfat znuz-en imçi tweqqaf maθalan ši ṣṣarf i-znuz*
cows sell-3p/I if 3sm-stop/A for example some money 3sm-sell/I

023. *ksiba t-aɣa-ṭ wella hadik wella i-teffeɣ εawed*
cattle/coll EL/sf-goat-sf or sf/DISD-AR or 3sm-go out/I again

024. *lmedden i-teffeɣ lxidma ge lfilaḥa te-ḍhar lxidma ge*
people 3sm-go out/I work LOCPR agriculture 3sf-appear/A work LOCPR

025. *lfilaḥa te-ḍhar lxidma gi lebni te-ḍhar kayn*
agriculture 3sf-appear/A work LOCPR construction 3sf-appear/A be-sm/PTC-AR

026. *wa kayn εaweδ i-znuz leksiba ka y-biε leksiba*
and be-sm/PTC-AR again 3sm-sell/I cattle/coll INP-AR 3sm-sell/IMP-AR cattle/coll

027. *i-xeddem εaweδ i ddmeɣ nnes i-ttawi dar ssuq*
3sm-work/I again DATPR head 3sm/POSS 3sm-take/I ALPR market

028. *lebhayem uçfat i t-ɣa-ṭan kull waḥed ašmen nnhar as*
mules cows COPR EA/pf-goat-pf every person which day 3sm/IO

029. *i-skar kayn i-znuz i-malḥ-en kayn i-xeddem*
3sm-do/I be-sm/PTC-AR 3sm-sell/I EL/pm-fish-pm be-sm/PTC-AR 3sm-work/I

030. *gi lmawqif i-xeddem i medden te-ḍhar lxidma ɣur*
LOCPR job market 3sm-work/I DATPR people 3sf-appear/A work ALPR

031. *a-džar nnes ɣur a-džar nnes ge lfilaḥa*
EA/sm-neighbour 3sm/POSS ALPR EA/sm-neighbour 3sm/POSS LOCPR agriculture

032. *i-ttuθu a xdem iδ es g leḥṣad i-megger*
3sm-go/I PROS 3sm-work/A COMPR 3sm/PREP LOCPR harvest 3sm-harvest/I

033. *wella* *i-bennu* *wella* *i-xeddem* *tha* *t* *i-ga-n*
or 3sm-build/I or 3sm-work/I sf/PRD RLV 3sf/DO PTC-be-PTC/P

034. *lɛada* *hadik* *i-skar* *lfilaḥa* *nnes* *i-skar* *lfilaḥa*
custom sf/DISD/AR 3sm-do/I agriculture 3sm/POSS 3sm-do/I agriculture

035. *nnes* *i-ddu* *i-debbar* *mṣiref* *imma* *ddu-n* *dar* *mdina*
3sm/POSS 3sm-go/A 3sm-arrange/A money either go-3p/A ALPR city

036. *ɛawed* *dar* *ṭiṭwan* *wella* *xeddm-en* *dar* *martil* *u* *kδa*
again ALPR PLN or work-3p/I ALPR PLN and so on

037. *ṭanža* *merra* *baɛḍ* *eɬ'aḥyan* *xeddm-en* *d* *ebb-en* *leflus* *ɛawed*
PLN time some times work-3p/I PROS HITH take-3p/A money again

038. *tadža-n* *lfilaḥa* *nnsen* *kkerz-en* *lfilaḥa* *ttuθu-n* *a*
leave-3p/I agriculture 3p/POSS cultivate-3p/I agriculture go-3p/I PROS

039. *debbar* *a* *xdem* *kayn* *wa* *y-xeddm-en* *da*
arrange-3p/A PROS work-3p/A be-sm/PTC-AR sm/RELD PTC-work-PTC/I here

040. *g* *t-mazir-t* *tha* *t* *i-ga-n* *lɛada* *l* *lɛayša*
LOCPR EA/sf-village-sf sf/PRD RLV 3sf/DO PTC-be-PTC/P custom GENPR living

041. *mša-w* *tegg-en* *i-fullus-en* *ti-mγar-an* *i-fullus-en* *tegg-en*
go-3p/PRF-AR do-3p/I EL/pm-cock-pm EL/pf-woman-pf EL/pm-cock-pm do-3p/I

042. *uçfat* *tegg-en* *ti-γa-ṭan* *insan* *ka* *y-ṣref* *maθalan* *γar*
cows do-3p/I EL/pf-goat-pf person INP-AR 3sm-deal/IMP-AR for example ALPR

043. *sen* *ti-γa-ṭan* *i-znuz* *ka* *y-ṣref* *γre* *s*
3p/PREP EL/pf-goat-pf 3sm-sell/I INP-AR 3sm-deal/IMP-AR ALPR 3sm/PREP

044. *maθalan* *γre* *s* *leksiba* *açfat*
for example ALPR 3sm/PREP cattle/coll cows

045. *i-znuz* *at* *hadik* *elɛayš* *n* *t-fellaḥ-t*
3sm-sell/I 3sf/DO sf/DISD-AR living GENPR EA/sf-agriculture-sf

046. *ṣafi* *hada* *šenni* *kayn* *i-ziyad*
that's it sm/PRD-AR what be-sm/PTC-AR 3sm-increase/I

047. *ɛawed* *lxidma* *imçi* *i-çmel* *lfilaḥa* *ma* *γar*
again work when 3sm-finish/A agriculture NEG ALPR

048. *s* *šγul* *i-ttuθu* *a* *xdem* *imçi* *ma* *γar* *s*
3sm/PREP work 3sm-go/I PROS 3sm-work/A if NEG ALPR 3sm/PREP

049. *i-znuza* *i-ttuθu* *a* *xdem* *ṣafi* *i-xeddem* *ddha* *i-xeddem*
3sm-sell/I 3sm-go/I PROS 3sm-work/A that's it 3sm-work/I here 3sm-work/I

050. *ddha* *wella* *i-ttuθu* *ɛawed* *dar* *žžbala* *wi-yeṭ* *ɛawed* *dar*
here or 3sm-go/I again ALPR mountains p-other again ALPR

051. *babberrat* *u* *kδa* *awella* *i-ttuθu* *dar* *mudun* *kayn* *wa*
PLN and so on or 3sm-go/I ALPR cities be-sm/PTC-AR sm/RELD

052. *y-ttuθu-n* *dar* *mudun* *a* *xdem* *tsemma* *a* *d*
PTC-go-PTC/I ALPR cities PROS 3sm-work/A 3sm-be named/IMP-AR FUT HITH

053. *i-ttawi* *lmeṣruf* *kayn* *wa* *d* *i-gg-en* *lḥaraka*
3sm-take/I money be-sm/PTC-AR sm/RELD 3df/DO PTC-do-PTC/P moving

054. *dar* *t-mazir-t* *i-znuz* *ksiba* *lebhayem* *ka* *y-biɛ*
ALPR EA/sf-village-sf 3sm-sell/I cattle/coll cattle/coll INP-AR 3sm-sell/IMP-AR

055. *ksiba* *lebhayem* *ka* *y-biɛ* *u* *šri* *g*
cattle/coll cattle/coll INP-AR 3sm-sell/IMP-AR and 3sm-buy/IMP-AR LOCPR

056. *i-malḥ-en* *hiya* *lqaḍiya* *l* *lɛada* *tha* *t*
EA/pm-fish-pm 3sf/PRO-AR case GENPR custom sf/PRD RLV 3sf/DO

057. *i-ga-n* *lqaḍiya* *ne* *lɛayša* *i-malḥ-en* *mužud-in* *šš̆har*
PTC-be-PTC/P case GENPR living EL/pm-fish-pm present-p/PTC-AR month

058. *a* *ga* *s* *i-malḥ-en* *ssardin* *šwiya* *muwaṣṣiṭ* *maši*
sm/PRD LOCPR 3sm/PREP EL/pm-fish-pm sardines little average NEG

059. *meqqur* *mužud* *nuhna* *ge* *lminṭaqa* *nnaç* *i-ttuθu* *d*
big-sm/ADJ present-sm/PTC-AR 1p/PRO LOCPR district 1p/POSS 3sm-go/I HITH

060. *ɣir* *ssardin* *ge* *lminṭaqa* *nnaç* *ge* *žžbala* *i-ttuθu*
only sardines LOCPR district 1p/POSS LOCPR mountains 3sm-go/I

061. *d* *ɣir* *ssardin* *i-malḥ-en* *mezyan-in* *ma* *lekkm-en* *ši*
HITH only sardines EL/pm-fish-pm good-p/ADJ-AR NEG arrive-3p/I NEG

062. *li'annahu* *ɣal-in* *ma* *lekkm-en* *ši* *daɣer* *naç*
because expensive-p/ADJ-AR NEG arrive-3p/I NEG ALPR 1p/PREP

063. *i-malḥ-en* *i-lla-n* *mezyan-in* *karama* *wella* *šṭun*
EL/pm-fish-pm PTC-be-PTC/P good-p/ADJ-AR squid or anchvovies

064. *wella* *ma* *lekkm-en* *daɣer* *naç* *li'annahu* *ka*
or NEG arrive-3p/I ALPR 1p/PREP because INP-AR

065. *y-swa-w* *ka* *y-swa-w* *ge* *lmdina* *ka*
3p-cost-3p/IMP-AR INP-AR 3p-cost-3p/IMP-AR LOCPR city INP-AR

066. *y-swa-w* *lekkm-en* *ssardin* *i-tili* *g* *lebḥar* *nnaç*
3p-cost-3p/IMP-AR arrive-3p/I sardines 3sm-be/I LOCPR sea 1p/POSS

067. *ddha* *ttuθu-n* *d* *s* *lebhayem* *ttawy-en* *d* *id* *awella*
here go-3p/I HITH INSPR cattle/coll bring-3p/I 3sm/DO HITH or

068. *s* *ṭṭumubil* *ttawy-en* *d* *id* *ssḥab* *lebhayem* *znuza-n* *d*
INSPR car bring-3p/I 3sm/DO HITH owners mules sell-3p/I HITH

069. *ɣar* *nax* *ge* *ddšuraθ* *walakin* *ta* *yi-lla-n*
ALPR 1p/PREP LOCPR villages but sf/RELD RLV PTC-be-PTC/I

070. *mužud* *ssardin* *ta* *yi-lla-n* *mužud*
present-sm/PTC-AR sardines sf/RELD RLV PTC-be-PTC/I present-sm/PTC-AR

071. *ssardin* *muwaṣṣiṭ* *ta* *yi-lla-n* *mužud*
sardines average sf/RELD RLV PTC-be-PTC/I present-sm/PTC-AR

072. *i-ḍhar* *ge* *ššahrayn* *a* *ẓar-t* *ge* *lmudun* *ṭṭumubilaθ*
3sm-appear/A LOCPR two months FUT 2s-see-2s/A LOCPR cities cars

073. *ttawy-en* *d* *ama* *nuçna* *ttuθu-n* *d* *ṣṣḥab* *lebhayem* *ṣṣḥab* *ddšar*
bring-3p/I HITH but 1p/PRO go-3p/I HITH owners mules owners village

074. *ttuθu-n* *d* *ttawy-en* *d* *i-malḥ-en* *znuz-en* *teθ* *walakin* *ssardin*
go-3p/I HITH bring-3p/I HITH EL/pm-fish-pm sell-3p/I 3sf/DO but sardines

075. *ta* *yi-lla-n* *mužud* *šših* *aduha* *šših* *a*
sf/RELD RLV PTC-be-PTC/I present-sm/PTC-AR month sm/PRD month RLV

076. *y-ðri-n* *gaɛ* *šših* *a* *y-ðri-n* *ta*
PTC-proceed-PTC/P totally month RLV PTC-proceed-PTC/P sf/RELD RLV

077.	*yi-lla-n*	*mužud*
	PTC-be-PTC/I	present-sm/PTC-AR

10.1. Farming

People cultivate farmland in the mountains. People grow beans for example. During harvest time they harvest the crops. People get seed and they sow the seed. They grow wheat, beans, lentils and all things that are generally grown on farmland. They cultivate the farmland and in addition they breed cattle like cows and goats. The people also sow onions, potatoes, garlic and the like.

If they find a paid job then they work for other people. For example someone might work as a watcher. And in summer they cultivate the farmland again. They harvest their crops resulting from their cultivated farmland. If they have grown lentils they harvest them and if they have grown beans they harvest them as well. They plough their farmland and harvest their crops. Then they wait some time. After that they gather their hay.

Potatoes are planted twice a year. They plant potatoes in August which they harvest in November and they plant potatoes in February which they harvest in May or June. If they find a paid job in any kind of area they work as labourers. If they find work during harvest time then they harvest the crops. They even might find a job as a labourer on the farmland. Then there is the work to be done on his own farmland where one cultivates his farmland and herds his own cattle as well. By the way children also herd the cattle cows as well as goats.

If someone is in need of money he might sell some cattle like a goat or so. Or he might also go and work outside his farmland for other people. It depends on the availability of jobs. There might be a job in farming, construction or something else. All sorts of jobs can be available. In addition one can trade cattle. One might become an entrepreneur by selling all sorts of cattle on the market like mules, cows and goats. Everyone has a certain day on which he does this. Some people sell fish while other people find jobs on the job market as labourers depending on what job is available. One's neighbour might have a job available. So if there is work to be done on the farmland of one's neighbour then one goes off to harvest with him during harvest time for example. One might even work as a construction worker.

So these are the local customs. People cultivate their own farmland and in addition they make money elsewhere. They go to the cities like Tétouan, Martil or some other city like Tangier. Sometimes they go off to make money and leave their own farmland. They cultivate their land and after that they go to earn money elsewhere. Some people work here in the village. These are the customs of making a living.

Some people breed chicken as well especially women. People breed cows and goats while others trade. Some people have goats so they sell them. One might have cattle like goats so he sells them. This is the way of making a living in farming. That's it. This is what people do. And people work extra as well. If someone has finished his own work on his farmland and he doesn't have any other work to do then he goes to do something else. He might sell something or work as a labourer. So he works here or he goes to the other mountains or perhaps to Bab Berrad or some other place or he goes to the cities. There are people who work in cities to earn money. Other people move to the villages where they sell cattle. They buy and sell cattle or fish. So this is the case and these are the customs. This is the case of making a living.

Fish is available by the way. This month fish is available namely the mediocre sardines which are not too big. In our district we only have sardines by that I mean our district in the mountains. Quality fish is not available there because it's very expensive. So the quality fish is not available in our district. Thus squid and anchovies and the like are not available in our district because those fish are very expensive. Even in the cities they are expensive. Only sardines are available here because they are to be found in parts of the sea which are close to us. They are brought here by mules or cars. The people with mules bring them and they sell them here in the local villages. But this is the only type of fish available namely the mediocre sardines. They are available only two months a year. In the cities you can see cars who bring them but in our district the people with mules bring them from the villages. So they come and bring them to sell them here. But this month only sardines are available and that goes for the last month as well.

VERBLIST

1. Type CCC

1.1. *kšem* "enter"

	aorist	**preterite**	**intensive**	**imperative**
	kšem	*kšem*	*kettšem*	
1s	***kešm**-ex*	***kešm**-ex*	***kettšm**-ex*	
2s	*t-**kešm**-et*	*t-**kešm**-et*	*t-**kettšm**-et*	***kšem***
3sm	*i-**kšem***	*i-**kšem***	*i-**kettšem***	
3sf	*t-**ekšem***	*t-**ekšem***	*t-**kettšem***	
1p	*n-**ekšem***	*n-**ekšem***	*n-**kettšem***	
2p	*t-**kešm**-em*	*t-**kešm**-em*	*t-**kettšm**-em*	***kešm**-awθ*
3p	***kešm**-en*	***kešm**-en*	***kettšm**-en*	

1.2. *nṭeg* "fly"

	nṭeg	*nṭeg*	*neṭṭeg*	
1s	***neṭg**-ex*	***neṭg**-ex*	***neṭṭg**-ex*	
2s	*t-**neṭg**-et*	*t-**neṭg**-et*	*t-**neṭṭg**-et*	***nṭu*** (!)[98]
3sm	*i-**nṭeg***	*i-**nṭeg***	*i-**neṭṭeg***	
3sf	*t-**enṭeg***	*t-**enṭeg***	*t-**neṭṭeg***	
1p	*n-**enṭeg***	*n-**enṭeg***	*n-**neṭṭeg***	
2p	*t-**neṭg**-em*	*t-**neṭg**-em*	*t-**neṭṭg**-em*	***neṭg**-awθ*
3p	***neṭg**-en*	***neṭg**-en*	***neṭṭg**-en*	

[98] Exclamation marks indicate morphological irregularities.

1.3. ***ršeq* “split”**

	ršeq	*ršeq*	*reššeq*	
1s	***rešq***-*ex*	***rešq***-*ex*	***reššq***-*ex*	
2s	*t*-***rešq***-*et*	*t*-***rešq***-*et*	*t*-***reššq***-*et*	***ršeq***
3sm	*i*-***ršeq***	*i*-***ršeq***	*i*-***reššeq***	
3sf	*t*-***eršeq***	*t*-***eršeq***	*t*-***reššeq***	
1p	*n*-***eršeq***	*n*-***eršeq***	*n*-***reššeq***	
2p	*t*-***rešq***-*em*	*t*-***rešq***-*em*	*t*-***reššq***-*em*	***rešq***-*awθ*
3p	***rešq***-*en*	***rešq***-*en*	***reššq***-*en*	

1.4. ***sker* “do, make”**

	sker	*sker*	*skar*	
1s	***sekr***-*ex*	***sekr***-*ex*	***skar***-*ex*	
2s	*t*-***sekr***-*et*	*t*-***sekr***-*et*	*t*-***skar***-*et*	***sker***
3sm	*i*-***sker***	*i*-***sker***	*i*-***skar***	
3sf	*t*-***esker***	*t*-***esker***	*θ*-***skar***	
1p	*n*-***esker***	*n*-***esker***	*n*-***eskar***	
2p	*t*-***sekr***-*em*	*t*-***sekr***-*em*	*t*-***eskar***-*em*	***sekr***-*awθ*
3p	***sekr***-*en*	***sekr***-*en*	***skar***-*en*	

1.5. ***xdem* “work”**

	xdem	*xdem*	*xeddem*	
1s	***xedm***-*ex*	***xedm***-*ex*	***xeddm***-*ex*	
2s	*t*-***xedm***-*et*	*t*-***xedm***-*et*	*t*-***xeddm***-*et*	***xdem***
3sm	*i*-***xdem***	*i*-***xdem***	*i*-***xeddem***	
3sf	*t*-***exdem***	*t*-***exdem***	*t*-***xeddem***	
1p	*n*-***exdem***	*n*-***exdem***	*n*-***xeddem***	
2p	*t*-***xedm***-*em*	*t*-***xedm***-*em*	*t*-***xeddm***-*em*	***xedm***-*awθ*
3p	***xedm***-*en*	***xedm***-*en*	***xeddm***-*en*	

2. Type CVCC

2.1. Type CaCC

2.1.1. ***sag^{j}em*** **"wait"**

	aorist	**preterite**	**intensive**	**imperative**
	sag^{j}em	*sag^{j}em*	*tsag^{j}am*	
1s	***sag^{j}m**-ex*	***sag^{j}m**-ex*	***tsag^{j}am**-ex*	
2s	*t-* ***sag^{j}m**-et*	*t-* ***sag^{j}m**-et*	*t-**tsag^{j}am**-et*	***sag^{j}em***
3sm	*i-**sag^{j}em***	*i-**sag^{j}em***	*i-**tsag^{j}am***	
3sf	*t-**sag^{j}em***	*t-**sag^{j}em***	*t-**tsag^{j}am***	
1p	*n-**sag^{j}em***	*n-**sag^{j}em***	*n-**tsag^{j}am***	
2p	*t-**sag^{j}m**-em*	*t-**sag^{j}m**-em*	*t-**tsag^{j}am**-em*	***sag^{j}m**-awθ*
3p	***sag^{j}m**-en*	***sag^{j}m**-en*	***tsag^{j}am**-en*	

2.2. Type CiCC

2.2.1. ***siwel*** **"talk, speak"**

	aorist	**preterite**	**intensive**	**imperative**
	siwel	*sawel*	*tsawal*	
1s	***siwl**-ex*	***sawl**-ex*	***tsawal**-ex*	
2s	*t-**siwl**-et*	*t-**sawl**-et*	*h-**tsawal**-et*	***siwel***
3sm	*i-**siwel***	*i-**sawel***	*i-**tsawal***	
3sf	*t-**siwel***	*t-**sawel***	*h-**tsawal***	
1p	*n-**siwel***	*n-**sawel***	*n-**tsawal***	
2p	*t-**siwl**-em*	*t-**sawl**-em*	*h-**tsawal**-em*	***siwl**-awθ*
3p	***siwl**-en*	***sawl**-en*	***tsawal**-en*	

3. Type CĈC

3.1. *berreḥ* “call”

	aorist	**preterite**	**intensive**	**imperative**
	berreḥ	*berreḥ*	*tberraḥ*	
1s	***berrḥ**-ex*	***berrḥ**-ex*	***tberraḥ**-ex*	
2s	*t-**berrḥ**-et*	*t-**berrḥ**-et*	*h-**tberraḥ**-et*	***berreḥ***
3sm	*i-**berreḥ***	*i-**berreḥ***	*i-**tberraḥ***	
3sf	*t-**berreḥ***	*t-**berreḥ***	*h-**tberraḥ***	
1p	*n-**berreḥ***	*n-**berreḥ***	*n-**tberraḥ***	
2p	*t-**berrḥ**-em*	*t-**berrḥ**-em*	*h-**tberraḥ**-em*	***berrḥ**-awθ*
3p	***berrḥ**-en*	***berrḥ**-en*	***tberraḥ**-en*	

3.2. *çerreç* “lie”

	çerreç	*çerreç*	*tçerraç*	
1s	***çerrç**-ex*	***çerrç**-ex*	***tçerraç**-ex*	
2s	*t-**çerrç**-et*	*t-**çerrç**-et*	*t-**tçerraç**-et*	***çerreç***
3sm	*i-**çerreç***	*i-**çerreç***	*i-**tçerraç***	
3sf	*t-**çerreç***	*t-**çerreç***	*h-**tçerraç***	
1p	*n-**çerreç***	*n-**çerreç***	*n-**tçerraç***	
2p	*t-**çerrç**-em*	*t-**çerrç**-em*	*t-**tçerraç**-em*	***çerrç**-awθ*
3p	***çerrç**-en*	***çerrç**-en*	***tçerraç**-en*	

3.3. ***debbar*** **"arrange"**

	debbar	*debbar*	*tdebbar*	
1s	***debbar****-ex*	***debbar****-ex*	***ddebbar****-ex*	
2s	*h-**debbar**-et*	*h-**debbar**-et*	*h-**tdebbar**-et*	***debbar***
3sm	*i-**debbar***	*i-**debbar***	*i-**tdebbar***	
3sf	*h-**debbar***	*h-**debbar***	*h-**tdebbar***	
1p	*n-**debbar***	*n-**debbar***	*n-**tdebbar***	
2p	*h-**debbar**-em*	*h-**debbar**-em*	*h-**tdebbar**-em*	***debbr****-awθ*
3p	***debbar****-en*	***debbar****-en*	***ddebbar****-en*	

3.4. ***ɣenni*** **"sing"**

	ɣenni	*ɣenna*	*tɣennay*	
1s	***ɣenni****-x*	***ɣenna****-x*	***tɣennay****-ex*	
2s	*t-**ɣenni**-t*	*t-**ɣenna**-t*	*t-**tɣennay**-et*	***ɣenni***
3sm	*i-**ɣenni***	*i-**ɣenna***	*i-**tɣennay***	
3sf	*t-**ɣenni***	*t-**ɣenna***	*t-**tɣennay***	
1p	*n-**ɣenni***	*n-**ɣenna***	*n-**tɣennay***	
2p	*t-**ɣenni**-m*	*t-**ɣenna**-m*	*t-**tɣennay**-em*	***ɣenny****-awθ*
3p	***ɣenni****-n*	***ɣenna****-n*	***tɣennay****-en*	

3.5. ***siyyeb*** **"throw"**

	siyyeb	*siyyeb*	*tsiyyab*	
1s	***siyyb****-ex*	***siyyb****-ex*	***tsiyyab****-ex*	
2s	*t-**siyyb**-et*	*t-**siyyb**-et*	*h-**tsiyyab**-et*	***siyyeb***
3sm	*i-**siyyeb***	*i-**siyyeb***	*i-**tsiyyab***	
3sf	*t-**siyyeb***	*t-**siyyeb***	*h-**tsiyyab***	
1p	*n-**siyyeb***	*n-**siyyeb***	*n-**tsiyyab***	
2p	*t-**siyyb**-em*	*t-**siyyb**-em*	*h-**tsiyyab**-em*	***siyyb****-awθ*
3p	***siyyb****-en*	***siyyb****-en*	***tsiyyab****-en*	

3.6. ***ṣebben* "wash"**

	ṣebben	*ṣebben*	*tṣebban*	
1s	***ṣebbn**-ex*	***ṣebbn**-ex*	***tṣebban**-ex*	
2s	*θ-**ṣebbn**-et*	*θ-**ṣebbn**-et*	*h-**tṣebban**-et*	***ṣebben***
3sm	*i-**ṣebben***	*i-**ṣebben***	*i-**tṣebban***	
3sf	*θ-**ṣebben***	*θ-**ṣebben***	*h-**tṣebban***	
1p	*n-**ṣebben***	*n-**ṣebben***	*n-**tṣebban***	
2p	*θ-**ṣebbn**-em*	*θ-**ṣebbn**-em*	*h-**tṣebban**-em*	***ṣebbn**-awθ*
3p	***ṣebbn**-en*	***ṣebbn**-en*	***tṣebban**-en*	

3.7. ***šebbar* "grab, hold"**

	šebbar	*šebbar*	*tšebbar*	
1s	***šebbar**-ex*	***šebbar**-ex*	***tšebbar**-ex*	
2s	*t-**šebbar**-et*	*t-**šebbar**-et*	*h-**tšebbar**-et*	***šebbar***
3sm	*i-**šebbar***	*i-**šebbar***	*i-**tšebbar***	
3sf	*t-**šebbar***	*t-**šebbar***	*h-**tšebbar***	
1p	*n-**šebbar***	*n-**šebbar***	*n-**tšebbar***	
2p	*t-**šebbar**-em*	*t-**šebbar**-em*	*h-**tšebbar**-em*	***šebbr**-awθ*
3p	***šebbar**-en*	***šebbar**-en*	***tšebbar**-en*	

3.8. ***xiyyeṭ* "sew"**

	xiyyeṭ	*xiyyeṭ*	*txiyyaṭ*	
1s	***xiyyṭ**-ex*	***xiyyṭ**-ex*	***txiyyaṭ**-ex*	
2s	*t-**xiyyṭ**-et*	*t-**xiyyṭ**-et*	*h-**txiyyaṭ**-et*	***xiyyeṭ***
3sm	*i-**xiyyeṭ***	*i-**xiyyeṭ***	*i-**txiyyaṭ***	
3sf	*t-**xiyyeṭ***	*t-**xiyyeṭ***	*h-**txiyyaṭ***	
1p	*n-**xiyyeṭ***	*n-**xiyyeṭ***	*n-**txiyyaṭ***	
2p	*t-**xiyyṭ**-em*	*t-**xiyyṭ**-em*	*h-**txiyyaṭ**-em*	***xiyyṭ**-awθ*
3p	***xiyyṭ**-en*	***xiyyṭ**-en*	***txiyyaṭ**-en*	

4. Type ĈC

4.1. *ffeɣ* “leave”

	aorist	**preterite**	**intensive**	**imperative**
	ffeɣ	*ffeɣ*	*teffeɣ*	
1s	***ffɣ**-ex*	***ffɣ**-ex*	***teffɣ**-ex*	
2s	*t-**effɣ**-et*	*t-**effɣ**-et*	*h-**teffɣ**-et*	***ffeɣ***
3sm	*i-**ffeɣ***	*i-**ffeɣ***	*i-**teffeɣ***	
3sf	*t-**effeɣ***	*t-**effeɣ***	*h-**teffeɣ***	
1p	*n-**effeɣ***	*n-**effeɣ***	*n-**teffeɣ***	
2p	*t-**effɣ**-em*	*t-**effɣ**-em*	*h-**teffɣ**-em*	***ffɣ**-awθ*
3p	***ffɣ**-en*	***ffɣ**-en*	***teffɣ**-en*	

4.2. *kker* “stand up”

	kker	*kker*	*tekker*	
1s	***kkr**-ex*	***kkr**-ex*	***tekkr**-ex*	
2s	*t-**ekkr**-et*	*t-**ekkr**-et*	*h-**tekkr**-et*	***kker***
3sm	*i-**kker***	*i-**kker***	*i-**tekker***	
3sf	*t-**ekker***	*t-**ekker***	*h-**tekker***	
1p	*n-**ekker***	*n-**ekker***	*n-**tekker***	
2p	*t-**ekkr**-em*	*t-**ekkr**-em*	*h-**tekkr**-em*	***kkr**-awθ*[99]
3p	***kkr**-en*	***kkr**-en*	***tekkr**-en*	

[99] Note that imperative plural of *kkar* “be full” coincides with the imperative plural of *kker* “stand up”. Cf. VERBLIST/6.2.1.

4.3. ***qqel*** **“return”**

	qqel	*qqel*	*teqqel*	
1s	***qql****-ex*	***qql****-ex*	***teqql****-ex*	
2s	*t-**eqql**-et*	*t-**eqql**-et*	*h-**teqql**-et*	***qqel***
3sm	*i-**qqel***	*i-**qqel***	*i-**teqqel***	
3sf	*t-**eqqel***	*t-**eqqel***	*h-**teqqel***	
1p	*n-**eqqel***	*n-**eqqel***	*n-**teqqel***	
2p	*t-**eqql**-em*	*t-**eqql**-em*	*h-**teqql**-em*	***qql****-awθ*
3p	***qql****-en*	***qql****-en*	***teqql****-en*	

4.4. ***ṯṯes*** **“sleep”**

	ṯṯes	*ṯṯes*	*teṯṯes*	
1s	***ṯṯs****-ex*	***ṯṯs****-ex*	***teṯṯse****-x*	
2s	*t-**eṯṯs**-et*	*t-**eṯṯs**-et*	*h-**teṯṯs**-et*	***ṯṯes***
3sm	*i-**ṯṯes***	*i-**ṯṯes***	*i-**teṯṯes***	
3sf	*t-**eṯṯes***	*t-**eṯṯes***	*h-**teṯṯes***	
1p	*n-**eṯṯes***	*n-**eṯṯes***	*n-**teṯṯes***	
2p	*t-**eṯṯs**-em*	*t-**eṯṯs**-em*	*h-**teṯṯs**-em*	***ṯṯs****-awθ*
3p	***ṯṯs****-en*	***ṯṯs****-en*	***teṯṯs****-en*	

4.5. ***wweθ* “hit”**

	wweθ	*wθa*	*tkaθa*	
1s	***ww*θ**-*ex*	***wθa*-*x*	***tkaθa*-*x*	
2s	*t*-***ewwθ***-*et*	*t*-***ewθa***-*t*	*h*-***tkaθa***-*t*	***wweθ***
3sm	*i*-***wweθ***	*i*-***wθa***	*i*-***tkaθa***	
3sf	*t*-***ewweθ***	*t*-***ewθa***	*h*-***tkaθa***	
1p	*n*-***ewweθ***	*n*-***ewθa***	*n*-***tkaθa***	
2p	*t*-***ewwθ***-*em*	*t*-***ewθa***-*m*	*h*-***tkaθa***-*m*	***wwθ***-*awθ*
3p	***wwθ***-*en*	***wθa***-*n*	***tkaθa***-*n*	

5. Type ĈCu

5.1. ***ttru* “weep”**

	ttru	*ttru*	*ttru*	
	aorist	**preterite**	**intensive**	**imperative**
1s	***ttru*-*x***	***ttru*-*x***	***ttru*-*x***	
2s	*t*-***ettru***-*t*	*t*-***ettru***-*t*	*t*-***ettru***-*t*	***ttru***
3sm	*i*-***ttru***	*i*-***ttru***	*i*-***ttru***	
3sf	*t*-***ettru***	*t*-***ettru***	*t*-***ettru***	
1p	*n*-***ettru***	*n*-***ettru***	*n*-***ettru***	
2p	*t*-***ettru***-*m*	*t*-***ettru***-*m*	*t*-***ettru***-*m*	***tterw***-*awθ*
3p	***ttru***-*n*	***ttru***-*n*	***ttru***-*n*	

6. Type ĈVC

6.1. Type ĈuC

6.1.1. *lluẓ* “be hungry”

	aorist	**preterite**	**intensive**	**imperative**
	lluẓ	*lluẓ*	*tlaẓ*	
1s	***lluẓ**-ex*	***lluẓ**-ex*	***tlaẓ**-ex*	
2s	*t-**elluẓ**-et*	*t-**elluẓ**-et*	*h-**tlaẓ**-et*	***lluẓ***
3sm	*i-**lluẓ***	*i-**lluẓ***	*i-**tlaẓ***	
3sf	*t-**elluẓ***	*t-**elluẓ***	*h-**tlaẓ***	
1p	*n-**elluẓ***	*n-**elluẓ***	*n-**tlaẓ***	
2p	*t-**elluẓ**-em*	*t-**elluẓ**-em*	*h-**tlaẓe**-m*	***lluẓ**-awθ*
3p	***lluẓ**-en*	***lluẓ**-en*	***tlaẓe**-n*	

6.1.2. *mmuθ* “die”

	mmuθ	*mmuθ*	*tmettaθ*	
1s	***mmuθ**-ex*	***mmuθ**-ex*	***tmettaθ**-ex*	
2s	*t-**emmuθ**-et*	*t-**emmuθ**-et*	*h-**etmettaθ**-et*	***mmuθ***
3sm	*i-**mmuθ***	*i-**mmuθ***	*i-**tmettaθ***	
3sf	*t-**emmuθ***	*t-**emmuθ***	*h-**etmettaθ***	
1p	*n-**emmuθ***	*n-**emmuθ***	*n-**etmettaθ***	
2p	*t-**emmuθ**-em*	*t-**emmuθ**-em*	*h-**etmettaθ**-em*	***mmθ**-awθ*
3p	***mmuθ**-en*	***mmuθ**-en*	***tmettaθ**-en*	

6.2. Type ĈaC

6.2.1. *kkar* "be full"

	aorist	preterite	intensive	imperative
	kkar	*kkar*	*kkar*	
1s	***kkar**-ex*	***kkar**-ex*	***kkare**-x*	
2s	*t-**ekkar**-et*	*t-**ekkar**-et*	*t-**ekkare**-t*	***kkar***
3sm	*i-**kkar***	*i-**kkar***	*i-**kkar***	
3sf	*t-**ekkar***	*t-**ekkar***	*t-**ekkar***	
1p	*n-**ekkar***	*n-**ekkar***	*n-**ekkar***	
2p	*t-**ekkar**-em*	*t-**ekkar**-em*	*t-**ekkare**-m*	***kkr**-awθ*[100]
3p	***kkar**-en*	***kkar**-en*	***kkare**-n*	

6.3. Type ĈiC

6.3.1. *qqim* "stay, sit"

	aorist	preterite	intensive	imperative
	qqim	*qqim*	*tɣima*	
1s	***qqim**-ex*	***qqim**-ex*	***tɣima**-x*	
2s	*t-**eqqim**-et*	*t-**eqqim**-et*	*h-**tɣima**-t*	***qqim***
3sm	*i-**qqim***	*i-**qqim***	*i-**tɣima***	
3sf	*t-**eqqim***	*t-**eqqim***	*h-**tɣima***	
1p	*n-**eqqim***	*n-**eqqim***	*n-**tɣima***	
2p	*t-**eqqim**-em*	*t-**eqqim**-em*	*h-**tɣima**-m*	***qqim**-awθ*
3p	***qqim**-en*	***qqim**-en*	***tɣima**-n*	

[100] Note that imperative plural of *kker* "stand up" coincides with the imperative plural of *kkar* "be full". Cf. VERBLIST/4.2.

7. Type CVĈ

7.1. ***ẓall* "pray"**

	aorist	**preterite**	**intensive**	**imperative**
	ẓall	*ẓull*	*tẓalla*	
1s	***ẓall****-ex*	***ẓull****-ex*	***tẓalla****-x*	
2s	*t-**ẓall**-et*	*t-**ẓull**-et*	*h-**tẓalla**-t*	***ẓall***
3sm	*i-**ẓall***	*i-**ẓull***	*i-**tẓalla***	
3sf	*t-**ẓall***	*t-**ẓull***	*h-**tẓalla***	
1p	*n-**ẓall***	*n-**ẓull***	*n-**tẓalla***	
2p	*t-**ẓall**-em*	*t-**ẓull**-em*	*h-**tẓalla**-m*	***ẓull****-awθ* (!)
3p	***ẓall****-en*	***ẓull****-en*	***tẓalla****-n*	

8. Type CĈ

8.1. ***sell* "listen"**

	aorist	**preterite**	**intensive**	**imperative**
	sell	*sell*	*tesla*	
1s	***sell****-ex*	***sell****-ex*	***tesla****-x*	
2s	*t-**sell**-et*	*t-**sell**-et*	*h-**tesla**-t*	***sell***
3sm	*i-**sell***	*i-**sell***	*i-**tesla***	
3sf	*t-**sell***	*t-**sell***	*h-**tesla***	
1p	*n-**sell***	*n-**sell***	*n-**tesla***	
2p	*t-**sell**-em*	*t-**sell**-em*	*h-**tesla**-m*	***sell****-awθ*
3p	***sell****-en*	***sell****-en*	***tesla****-n*	

9. Type CC

9.1. *dž* “leave”

	aorist	**preterite**	**intensive**	**imperative**
	dž	*wdž~a*	*tadža*	
1s	***dž**-ex*	***wdža**-x*	***tadža**-x*	
2s	*t-**edž**-et*	*t-**ewdža**-t*	*h-**tadža**-t*	***dž***
3sm	*i-**dž***	*i-**wdž***	*i-**tadža***	
3sf	*t-**edž***	*t-**ewdž***	*h-**tadža***	
1p	*n-**edž***	*n-**ewdž***	*n-**tadža***	
2p	*t-**edž**-em*	*t-**ewdža**-m*	*h-**tadža**-m*	***dž**-awθ*
3p	***dž**-en*	***wdža**-n*	***tadža**-n*	

9.2. *fk* “give”

	fk	*fk~a*	*ttak*	
1s	***fk**-ex*	***fka**-x*	***ttak**-ex*	
2s	*t-**efk**-et*	*t-**efka**-t*	*h-**ttak**-et*	***fk***
3sm	*i-**fk***	*i-**fk***	*i-**ttak***	
3sf	*t-**efk***	*t-**efk***	*h-**ttak***	
1p	*n-**efk***	*n-**efk***	*n-**ttak***	
2p	*t-**efk**-em*	*t-**efka**-m*	*h-**ttak**-em*	***fk**-awθ*
3p	***fk**-en*	***fka**-n*	***ttak**-en*	

9.3. ***neɣ*** **"kill"**

	aorist	**preterite**	**intensive**	**imperative**
	neɣ	*neɣ~a*	*neqqa*	
1s	***nɣ****-ex*	***nɣa****-x*	***neqqa****-x*	
2s	*t-**enɣe**-t*	*t-**enɣa**-t*	*t-**neqqa**-t*	***neɣ***
3sm	*i-**neɣ***	*i-**neɣ***	*i-**neqqa***	
3sf	*t-**neɣ***	*t-**neɣ***	*t-**neqqa***	
1p	*n-**neɣ***	*n-**neɣ***	*n-**neqqa***	
2p	*t-**enɣe**-m*	*t-**enɣa**-m*	*t-**neqqa**-m*	***nɣ****-awθ*
3p	***nɣe****-n*	***nɣa****-n*	***neqqa****-n*	

9.4. ***su*** **"drink"**

	su	*su~a*	*sessu*	
1s	***su****-x*	***swa****-x*	***sessu****-x*	
2s	*t-**su**-t*	*t-**eswa**-t*	*t-**sessu**-t*	***su***
3sm	*i-**su***	*i-**su***	*i-**sessu***	
3sf	*t-**su***	*t-**su***	*t-**sessu***	
1p	*n-**su***	*n-**su***	*n-**sessu***	
2p	*t-**su**-m*	*t-**eswa**-m*	*t-**sessu**-m*	***sw****-awθ*
3p	***su****-n*	***swa****-n*	***sessu****-n*	

10. Type aCC

10.1. *ara* “write”

	aorist	preterite	intensive	imperative
	ara	*ura*	*ttara*	
1s	***ara***-*x*	***ura***-*x*	***ttara***-*x*	
2s	*t*-***ara***-*t*	*t*-***ura***-*t*	*h*-***ettara***-*t*	***ara***
3sm	*y*-***ara***	*y*-***ura***	*i*-***ttara***	
3sf	*t*-***ara***	*t*-***ura***	*h*-***ettara***	
1p	*n*-***ara***	*n*-***ura***	*n*-***ettara***	
2p	*t*-***ara***-*m*	*t*-***ura***-*m*	***ttara***-*m*	***ara***-*wθ*
3p	***ara***-*n*	***ura***-*n*	***ttara***-*n*	

11. Type CCu

11.1. *bdu* “begin”

	aorist	preterite	intensive	imperative
	bdu	*bda*	*taddu*	
1s	***bdu***-*x*	***bda***-*x*	***taddu***-*x*	
2s	*t*-***ebdu***-*t*	*t*-***ebda***-*t*	*h*-***taddu***-*t*	***bdu***
3sm	*i*-***bdu***	*i*-***bda***	*i*-***taddu***	
3sf	*t*-***ebdu***	*t*-***ebda***	*h*-***taddu***	
1p	*n*-***ebdu***	*n*-***ebda***	*n*-***taddu***	
2p	*t*-***ebdu***-*m*	*t*-***ebda***-*m*	*h*-***taddu***-*m*	***bedw***-*awθ*
3p	***bdu***-*n*	***bda***-*n*	***taddu***-*n*	

12. Type Ĉ

12.1. *bb* “take”

	aorist	**preterite**	**intensive**	**imperative**
	bb	*bb~a*	*ttawi*	
1s	***bb**-ex*	***bba**-x*	***ttawy**-ex*	
2s	*t-**ebb**-et*	*t-**ebba**-t*	*h-**ettawy**-et*	***bb***
3sm	*i-**bb***	*i-**bb***	*i-**ttawi***	
3sf	*t-**ebb***	*t-**ebb***	*h-**ettawi***	
1p	*n-**ebb***	*n-**ebb***	*n-**ettawi***	
2p	*t-**ebb**-em*	*t-**ebba**-m*	*h-**ettawy**-em*	***bb**-awθ*
3p	***bb**-en*	***bba**-n*	***ttawy**-en*	

12.2. *ll* “be, exist”

	ll	*ll~a*	*tili*	
1s	***ll**-ex*	***lla**-x*	***tili**-x*	
2s	*t-**ell**-et*	*t-**ella**-t*	*h-**tili**-t*	***ll***
3sm	*i-**ll***	*i-**ll***	*i-**tili***	
3sf	*t-**ell***	*t-**ell***	*h-**tili***	
1p	*n-**ell***	*n-**ell***	*n-**tili***	
2p	*t-**ell**-em*	*t-**ella**-m*	*h-**tili**-m*	***ll**-em* (!)
3p	***ll**-en*	***lla**-n*	***tili**-n*	

12.3. ***nn*** **"say"**

	nn	*nna*	*qqar*	
1s	***nn****-ex*	***nna****-x*	***qqra****-x*	
2s	*t-**enn**-et*	*t-**enna**-t*	*t-**eqqra**-t*	***nna***
3sm	*i-**nn***	*i-**nna***	*i-**qqar***	
3sf	*t-**enn***	*t-**enna***	*t-**eqqar***	
1p	*n-**enn***	*n-**enna***	*n-**eqqar***	
2p	*t-**enn**-em*	*t-**enna**-m*	*t-**eqqra**-m*	***nn****-awθ*
3p	***nn****-en*	***nna****-n*	***qqra****-n*	

12.4. ***šš*** **"eat"**

	šš	*šš~a*	*tett*	
1s	***šš****-ex*	***šša****-x*	***tett****-ex*	
2s	*t-**ešš**-et*	*t-**ešša**-t*	*h-**tett**-et*	***šš***
3sm	*i-**šš***	*i-**šš***	*i-**tett***	
3sf	*t-**ešš***	*t-**ešš***	*h-**tett***	
1p	*n-**ešš***	*n-**ešš***	*n-**tett***	
2p	*t-**ešš**-em*	*t-**ešša**-m*	*h-**tett**-em*	***šš****-awθ*
3p	***šš****-en*	***šša****-n*	***tett****-en*	

13. Type ĈV

13.1. Type Ĉu

13.1.1. ***ddu*** **"go"**

	aorist	**preterite**	**intensive**	**imperative**
	ddu	*dda*	*ttuθu*	
1s	***ddu****-x*	***dda****-x*	***ttuθu****-x*	
2s	*h-**eddu**-t*	*h-**edda**-t*	*h-**ettuθu**-t*	***ndda*** (!)
3sm	*i-**ddu***	*i-**dda***	*i-**ttuθu***	
3sf	*h-**eddu***	*h-**edda***	*h-**ettuθu***	
1p	*n-**eddu***	*n-**edda***	*n-**ettuθu***	***nddhu*** (!)
2p	*h-**eddu**-m*	*h-**edda**-m*	*h-**ettuθu**-m*	
3p	***ddu****-n*	***dda****-n*	***ttuθu****-n*	

13.2. Type Ĉi

13.2.1. ***rri*** **"sow"**

	rri	*rri*	*rraz* (!)	
1s	***rri****-x*	***rri****-x*	***rraz****-ex*	
2s	*t-**erri**-t*	*t-**erri**-t*	*t-**erraz**-et*	***rri***
3sm	*i-**rri***	*i-**rri***	*i-**rraz***	
3sf	*t-**erri***	*t-**erri***	*t-**erraz***	
1p	*n-**erri***	*n-**erri***	*n-**erraz***	
2p	*t-**erri**-m*	*t-**erri**-m*	*t-**erraz**-em*	***rry****-awθ*
3p	***rri****-n*	***rri****-n*	***rraz****-en*	

WORDLIST

In this section we will present a wordlist. Nouns will be presented as follows: singular (état d'annexion) – plural. If only the singular is available it will be presented without any comment, if only the plural is available this will be shown by (p). If a feminine noun is available with the same base this will be presented after the masculine noun. In the case of unit nouns: singular (un) – plural collective noun (coll). Allomorphs are presented after a tilde and variants after a slash.

Adjectives will be presented in this form: singular masculine – singular feminine – plural. If only the singular male is available it will be presented without any comment, if the female singular is also available this will be shown by (f).

Berber verbs will be presented in the following way: aorist preterite intensive. If only one of the MAN-stems is available this will be made clear by placing the according abbreviation of that MAN-stem between brackets except for the aorist. Thus if a MAN-stem is presented without any comment this will be the aorist and if two are presented without any comment these will be the aorist followed by the preterite.

If a derivational noun is available this will be presented together with the verb from which it has been derived, the same goes for verbs with derivational prefixes.

Verbs which are subject to MA inflection are presented as follows: perfective imperfective (AR). If only one of the two is available this will be made clear by the according abbreviation.

A

a *a* (PROS) "that, so, to"

a *a* (HOR) "let's"

a *a* (VOC) "o"

a *a* (RLV) "that, who, which"

B

b *baba* "father"

b *bzeg* (STAT) "be wet"
ssebzag (I, CAUS) "make wet"

b *bb bb~a ttawi* "bring"

b *b* (PREP) "with, by"
buḥdu "on his own"

bžuž “with the two”

barbɛa “with the four”

bd *abadan* “ever”

bd *bdu bda taddu* “begin, start”

bdl *beddel beddel tbeddal* “change (cloths)”

bhm *lbhim/lebhayem* (coll) “cattle”

lebhima - lebhayem “mule”

bḥr *lebḥar/bḥar* “sea”

bḥr *abeḥri - ibeḥriyen* “fisherman”

bḥθ *baḥiθ* “researcher”

bkr *bekri* “early”

bl *bla* (PRP) “without”

bndm *bnadem* “human being” (BM)

bq *bqa ibqa* (AR) “remain, stay”

br *aberri - iberriyen* “sheep”

br *tabrat - tibratan*/*ibratan* “letter”

br *lbir/albir* (*n waman*) “well”

brd *berd berd tberrad* “freeze”

brdɛ *lberdaɛ* “saddle”

brḥ *berreḥ berreḥ tberraḥ* “call”

brn *berrani* “outsider/not part of the family or tribe”

bš *baš* “so, so that, in order to”

bṣl *tabṣelt* (un) - *tibeṣlan lebṣal* (coll) “onion”

bṭl *lbaṭil* “boat”

bṭu *bṭu bṭu* “divide, share”

byn *bayn/bin bayna-* (PREP) “between”

bzf *bezzaf* “many, much”

bžbl *aboužbel* “vagina”

bɛd *bɛid* “far”

bɛḍ *lbaɛḍ/lebɛaḍ* “some”

bɛṭ *baɛṭ-* (RCP) “mutually, eachother” (RCP)

Ç

ç *-ç/ç-* (2sm/DO) “you”

ç *-aç/aç-* (2sm/IO) “to you, with you”

ç *-ç* (2sm/ADN) “your”

ç *-k* (2sm/PREP) “you”

çdr *açidar - içidaren* “horse”

çl *açal* “earth”

çm *açma - ayθma* “brother”

çmr *açemmar* (*uçemmar*) *- içemmiren* “face”

çmz *açmez* (*açmez*) *- içemzan* “fingernail”

çnw *içenniwen* “twins”

çr *açur açur ttaçur* “steal”

çrç *çerreç çerreç tçerraç* “lie”

D

d *ddu dda ttuθu* “go”

d *d* (LOCPR) “in”

d *d* (HITH) “to here, towards here”

dbḥ *dbiḥa* “slaughter animal”

dbr *debbar debbar tdebbar* “arrange, fix”

dçr *ddçar* “male”

dftr *ddiftar* “booklet”

dfn *ddfin* “female dress”

dfɛ *dfaɛ dfaɛ deffaɛ* “push (away)”

dh *ddha* “here, over here”

dhm *dhem - dahma* (f) (ADJ) “brown”

dlm *adlem* “bark”

dmlž *ddemliž - ddmaležˇ* “bracelet”

dmγ *ddmeγ - ddmiγa/ledmiγa* “head”

dn *dan* “there” (BM)

dr *ddra* (coll) “corn”

dr *dar* (ALPR) “to, towards, at”

dr *dder ddir tedder* “live, reside”

dr *adrar - idraren* “mountains”

ds *das* “there, over there”

dšr *ddšar* “village”

dxl *daxel/daxelt* “inside”

dxn *ddexxan* “smoke”

dym *dayman/da’ima* “always”

dž *dž wdž~a tadža* “leave, give birth”

džml *djemla* “camel”

džr *džerra* (P) “run”

ledžri “speed”

džɛd *džaɛda* “carrot”

dγr *daγur daγr-* (ALPR) “to, at”

dwy *dawi dawa tdaway* “cure”

Ḍ

ḍbɛ *ḍḍbaɛ* “hyena”

ḍf *ḍḍif* “guest”

ḍgr *taḍgart* (coll) “woods”

ḍl *ḍill* “shadow”

ḍmn *ḍemmen* (P) “secure”

ḍs *ḍess ḍess ḍess* “laugh”

ḍw *ḍḍaw* “light”

ḍwr *ḍuwwar ḍuwwar tḍuwwar* “turn”

ḍγ *ḍeγya* “fast, quickly”

Δ

δfl *aδfel* “ice, snow”

δm *aδem* “blood”

δn *taδunt* “fat”

δn *iδn* “so, i.e.”

δr *aδiyyar - iδiyyaren* “piece”

aδiyyar n waṭil “a single grape”

δt *δδat* “body”

F

f *af ufa ttafa* “find”

f *fi* (PREP) “in”

f (IMPR) “to, on, about, ”

fḥal- “on the way of”

fç *tafuçt* “sun”

tawfiçt “sun” (BM)

tafuçt ay tɛellat “sunrise”

tafuçt taγli “sunset”

fd *afud* (*ufud*) - *ifadden* “knee”

fδn *tifeδnan* “toes”

fk *fk fk~a ttak* “give”

fkh *lfakiha* (coll) “fruit”

fkr *fekkar fekkar tfekkar* “think”

fln *filan* “a person”

fls *afullus* - *ifullusen* “cock”

tafullust - *tifullusan* “chicken”

fls *leflus* (coll) “money”

flθ *fleθ* “flee, escape”

fns *tafoenast* “cow”

fq *fuq* “on top of, above”

fq *fiq faq tfiq* “wake up”

fqr *afeqqir* - *ifeqqiran* “sorcerer”

tafeqqirt - *ifeqqiran* “sorceress”

fqs *feqsan* - *feqsana* (f) (ADJ) “sad”

frg *ifergan* “lakes”

frn *lfarn* “oven”

frs *tafirast* (un) - *tifirasan lfiras* (coll) “pear”

frš *aferruš* - *iferraš* “cock”

frw *afraw (ufraw)* - *ifrawen* “leaf”

frw *tafriwet* - *tifriwtan* “feather”

fs *afus (ufus)* - *ifassen* “hand”

taγmert n ufus “elbow”

afus l limin “left hand”

afus n šš̈mal “right hand”

fsç *fseç fseç tfessaç* “untie”

fṭ *lfuṭa* “towel”

fṭn *fṭen ifṭen* (AR) “feel”

fwd *lefwad - lefwadaθ* “liver” (BM)

fzr *tafuzart - tifuzaran/ifuzaren* “ant”

fγ *ffeγ ffeγ teffeγ* “leave, go out”

fɛ *lefɛaθ - lfuɛ* “snake” (BM)

G

g *g ga-* (LOCPR) “in, on, about”

g^{w}um “in front, before”

g^{w}af “on top”

g^{w}ammas “in the middle, between”

g^{w}af “on top”

g^{j}enna “above”

g be llil “at night/in the evening”

g *ag~aç* (PSP) “was”

g *gg gg* “make, do”

g *iga* (P) “be, be something/someone, be in a state”

g^{j} *tag^{j}ig^{j}et - ig^{j}ig^{j}en* “tree”

g^{j}d *ag^{j}di* “jackal”

g^{j}n *ag^{j}enna* “sky”

g^{j}r *ag^{j}er* (*yag^{j}er*) - *ig^{j}ran* “unit of measurement (Arabic: *feddan*)”

g^{j}ṭḍ *ag^{j}ṭiḍ - ig^{j}ṭaḍ* “bird”

glzm *agelzim - igelzam* “pickaxe”

gnw *tagnawt - tignawan* “pumpkin”

gr *amger/lmegger* “harvest”

amger “small pickaxe”

gr *tagg^{w}urt* “door”

gr *tagra - tigerwan* “plate”

grn *agran - igranen* “frog”

tagrant - tigranan “female frog”

grns *agurnas - igurnasen* “lion”

grṭ *agerṭ (yagerṭ) - igerṭawen* “neck”

taɛeqquqt (tɛeqquqt) n igerṭ “Adam’s apple”

gwr *gwer* “return”

gz *ggez ggez teggez* “descend, fail”

gzr *lgezzar* “butcher”

Γ

γ *γa* “only”

γf *aγef - iγfawen* “head”

γl *aγil* (*yaγil*) - *iγallen* “mountain”

γl *lγilla*/*lγilleθ* (coll) “crops”

γl *γul* (P) “befall, happen”

γl *aγulal* “large cooking pot”

taγulalt n waçal “cooking pot made of clay”

γlṭ *γliṭ - γliṭa - γliṭin* (ADJ)“fat”

γmr *γmara* “Ghomara”

γmr *taγmert* “elbow”

γmš *tγemmaš* (I) “blink”

γmz *γmez iγmez* (AR) “wink”

γn *γenni γenna tγennay* “sing”

γr *lγar* “cave”

γr *γar-* (ALPR) “at, with, to”

γrḍ *aγerḍay - iγerḍayen* “mouse”

γrf *aγerraf - iγerrafen* “jar of clay”

γrf *γurfa - lγurfaθ* “upper room”

γrm *aγrum* (*uγrum*) - *iγrumen* “bread”

γrm *γrem* (P) “own”

γrs *lγarseθ - leγres* “garden”

γs *aγess* (*uγuss*) - *iγessan* “bone”

aδuf n uγuss “bone marrow”

γṭ *taγaṭ - tiγaṭan* (*tγaṭan*) “goat”

γwθ *tγuwwaθ* (I) “yell”

γyl *aγyul* - *iγuyal* “donkey”

γẓz *γeẓẓez γeẓẓez tγeẓẓaz* “chew”

H

h *ha* “here”

hd *hada* (sm/PRD-AR) “this”

hdk *hadik* (sf/DISD-AR) “that”

hdž *hedžal* (*uhdžal*) - *lehžažel* “widower”

hedžala/tahedžalt (*thedžalt*) - *lehžažel* “widow”

hl *hala* (IMP) “come”

hln *ahlan* “welcome, hello”

hlnd *hulanda* “Holland”

hm *huma* (3p/AR-PRO) “they”

hrm *therram* (I) “herd”

hw *lehwa* “rain”

hw *huwa* (3sm/AR-PRO) “he”

hw *hewa* “well”

hy *hiya* (3sf/AR-PRO) “she”

hyḍr *tahayḍurt* “wool”

hywç *hayweç/fhayweç* “when”

hz *hezz hezz* “shake”

hžr *hažer* (A) *thažar* (I) “emigrate”

Ḥ

ḥb *ḥbibi* “maternal uncle”

ḥd *ḥeddad* “blacksmith”

mɛellem n tḥeddat “blacksmith”

ḥd *iḥeddi* “warden”

ḥd *lḥdida* “long axe”

ḥd *ḥdid* “iron”

ḥdθ *lḥadaθ* “story”

ḥð *ḥað ḥað tḥað* “touch”

ḥf *lḥafa* “stone”

ḥf *ḥafi* “sharp”

ḥf *ḥaf* (P) “grasp, catch”

ḥfr *ḥfer* (P) “dig”

aḥfar “hole”

ḥfr *aḥufar* “sole (of foot)”

ḥfy *ḥafyan* “barefoot”

ḥk *ḥakk ḥakk tḥakka* “scratch”

ḥl *lḥila/ḥila - lḥilaθ* “trick”

ḥl *lḥalal* “that which is permitted”

ḥlf *ḥelluf* (coll) “pork”

ḥm *ḥemmam* “bathroom”

ḥm *lḥem* “meat”

ḥm *ḥma* (P) (STAT) “be warm, be hot”

ḥmr *taḥemmart - tiḥemmaran* “riddles”

ḥq *lḥaqq* “truth”

ḥrf *ḥerrefḥerref* “cuttable (crops)”

ḥrk *tḥerrak* (I) “move”

ḥrm *lḥaram* “that which is forbidden”

ḥrq *ḥreq ḥreq tḥerraq* “ache, have pain, be in pain”

leḥriq “pain”

ḥṣ *ḥeṣ* (P) *ttaḥṣ* (I) “reap”

ḥsb *ḥseb ḥseb ḥessab* “count”

ḥši *ḥši ḥša ḥešša* “stab”

ḥšm *leḥšam* “children”

ḥt *ḥetta* “till, until, even”

ḥtš *aḥettaš - iḥettiša* “hatchet”

ḥwžd *lḥwažed/lḥižbin* “eyebrows”

ḥyd *ḥiyyed* “avoid, evade”

ḥyṭ *ḥayṭ - leḥyuṭ* “wall”

ḥž *lḥaža*/*ḥaža* “thing”

I

i *i iδ-* (DATPR) “to, for”

i *i iδ-* (COMPR) “with”

i *i iδ-* (COPR) “and”

i *i* (1s/PREP) “me”

i *i~a* (FOC) “who, which, that”

K

k *ka* (INP-AR) “be”

k *k* (2sm/PREP-AR) “you”

kδ *kδa* “so on”

kδb *keδba - lkuδba* “lie”

kdž *kedžin/kedži/kedž* (2sm/PRO) “you”

kfš *kifaš* “why”

kḥ *sskuḥḥu* (ONOM) “cough”

kḥl *kḥel* “black”

kl *lkulla n tg^{j}ig^{j}et* “bark”

kl *kull kull-* “all, every”

kullši “all, everything, everyone”

kull mara “everytime”

klm *lkelma* “word”

klw *akellaws n waçal* “large waterpot worn on the back”

km *kemmin/kemmi* (2sf/PRO) “you (f.)”

km *kama - lkiman* “bed”

km *-kum* (2p/IO-AR) “for you (p.)”

kml *kmel* (P) “finish”

kml *kamlin* (p) “totally”

kn *kunna* (2p/PRO) “you (p.)”

kr *lkar - lkiran* “van”

kr *kkar kkar kkar* “be full”

kr *kker kker tekker* “stand up, to begin, to start”

kṣd *kṣaḍ kṣuḍ tekṣaḍ* “be afraid”

kšm *kšem kšem kettšem* “enter”

ssekšem ssekšem (CAUS) “let in”

ksw *lkeswa* “clothes”

ktb *lektab* “book”

ktb *ikteb* (IMP-AR) “write”

ktf *ktef* (P) “tie”

kettef “tied”

ktr *ktar* “more”

kzkzḥ *kuzukuzaḥ* “rainbow”

L

l *llil/llila* “night”

l *la* “no”

l *ul* (*ul*) - *uliyen/ulawen* “heart”

l *lluli* “beginning, start”

lluwwel “first”

lluli - lluliya - lluliyin (ADJ) “first”

l *illa* (RLV) “that”

l’n *li’anna* “because”

lbr *libra* “thread”

lby *lubya* (coll) “beans”

lf *alef - ilfen* “swine”

lf *alf* “thousand”

lh *allah* “God”

llayhennik “solong”

inša’ellah “God willing”

mašallah “at a venture”

llah iżɛal baraka “that’s it, the end”

yallah (HOR) “let’s go”

yallah “recently”

lḥf *leḥfa* “barefoot”

lkm *lkem* “arrive”

ll *ll ll~a tili* “be, exist”

llɛ *lleɛ lleɛ telleɛ* “lick”

lm *alum* (coll) “hay”

lqm *talqimt* “bread baked in a pan”

talqimt n tawnaft “bread from baked in a fire pan”

talqimt n farn/aɣrum “bread baked in an oven”

ls *iles* (*iles*) - *ilsen* “tongue”

ltšn *taletšint* (un) - *tiletšinan letšin* (coll) “orange”

lwz *talawzet* (un) - *tilawzan llawz* (coll) “almond”

lyn *layna* “whither, whereto”

lyš *liyaš* “why”

lẓ *lluẓ lluẓ tlaẓ* “be hungry”

lẓn *alaẓen* “tomorrow”

anafaẓen “day after tomorrow”

lẓr *taliẓart* “white weddinggown”

lɛš *leɛša* “nightprayer, dinner”

lθm *uleθma* - *tayθmaθan* “sister”

M

m *aman* (coll) “water”

m *ma* (NEG) “not”

maši (NEG) “not”

m -*m*/*m*- (2sf/DO) “you (f.)”

m -*am*/*am*- (2sf/IO) “for you (f.)”

m -*m* (2sf/PREP) “you (f.)”

m -*m* (2sf/ADN) “your (f.)”

mbɛd *membaɛd* “later”

mç *imçi* “if”

mç *amça* “how, while”

mçr *amaçar* (*umaçar*) - *imuçar* “thief”

tamaçart “female thief”

mçrḍ *timçraḍ* “scissors”

md *tamuda* “pig”

mdkl *ameddakul* (*umeddakul*) - *imeddukal* “friend”

mdn *lmedden*/*medden* “people”

mdrs *lmedrasa*/*medrasa* “school”

mḍwr *mḍuwwer* “round”

mḍyq *mḍiyyeq* “narrow”

mgwd *mguwdin* (p) “straight”

mḥl *lmaḥal* “room”

mhm *muhim* “anyway”

mḥm *muḥami* “lawyer”

mḥṭ *lmaḥaṭṭa* “station”

lmaḥaṭṭa lkiran “bus station”

mḥžr *maḥžur* - *lemḥažer* “orphan”

mkl *lmakla* “food”

ml *lmul/mul* “owner”

ml *mellul* - *mellule**θ*** (ADJ) “white”

ml *amella/amil/amilla* “now”

amil “now” (BM)

mlḥ *amaleḥ* (*umaleḥ*) - *imalḥen* “fish”

mlḥ *mlaḥ* “salt”

mn *mmen* “who, what”

mnžr *amenžur* (*umenžur*) - *imenžar* “chair”

mql *mqali* “frying pans”

mqr *meqqur* (STAT) “be big”

meqqur - *muqqre**θ*** (ADJ) “big”

mqṭɛ *mqaṭɛin* (p) (ADJ) “cut off”

mr *lmerra/merra* - *lmerra**θ***“time”

mr *tammart* “beard”

tammert “chin”

mr *amar* “order”

mr *amar amar ttamar* “send”

mrs *amaras* (*umaras*) - *imuras* “valley”

ms *lmus* “knife”

ms *ammas* “middle, back”

mš *amušš* (*umušš*) - *imuššen* “cat”

ṭamuššet “female cat”

mš *tamšeṭ – timešṭan* “comb”

mš *mšà imši* “go”

mš *maši* “walking” (PTC-AR)

mš *maša* “but”

msḥ *msaḥ msaḥ messaḥ* “rub”

mškl *lmuškil* “problem”

msl *lmasa’il* “things”

mšrb *lmešruba* “drink”

mṭ *tameṭṭut - timeṭṭutan* “woman, wife”

mtl *matalan* “for example”

mṭrq *mṭirqa - mṭirqaθ* “hammer”

mṭɛ *lmuṭɛa*/*muṭɛa – muwaṭaɛ* “place”

mtɛb *metɛub* (ADJ) “tired” (BM)

mwṣṭ *muwaṣṣiṭ* “average”

mxr *amexraw* (*umexraw*) - *imexrawen* “young of a rabbit”

mz *mzizu - mzizuθ* (ADJ) “small” (BM)

mẓ *meẓẓi - meẓẓiθ* (ADJ) “small”

mzd *tamzgida/tamzida - timzgidiwan* “mosque”

mžhd *lmežhud* “best”

mzr *tamazirt* “village”

mzyn *mezyan - mezyana - mezyanin* (ADJ) “good”

mzγ *amezzuγ* (*umezzuγ*) - *imezgan* “ear”

taδunt n imezgan “earwax”

mγ *amγar* (*umγar*) - *imγaren* “chiefs”

tamγart “female chief”

timγaran “women”

mγr *tameγra - timeγriwan* “wedding”

mγrb *lmaγrib* “Morocco”

gi lmaγrib “evening”

mɛd *lmiɛad* “appointment”

mɛdm *maɛdum - maɛduma - maɛdumin* (ADJ) *“ill”*

mɛf *maɛruf - maɛrufin* (p) (ADJ) “well-known”

mɛlm *mɛellem* “expert”

mɛn *lmaɛna/maɛna* “meaning”

mɛrf *maɛrufin* (p) (ADJ) “well-known”

mθ *mmuθ mmuθ tmetta* “die”

mtš *tmettaš* (I) “feel dizzy”

mxx *muxx* “brain”

mxzn *amxazni* “soldier”

N

n *nna nna qqar* “say, tell”

n *ani* “where”

n *n-* (GENPR) “of”

nbd *tanebdut* “summer”

nçm *niçma* (3p/PRO) “they, them”

niçnam (3p/PRO) “they, them” (BM)

nçn *nuçna* (1p/PRO) “we, us”

nd *nnad* “response”

nfs *nefs* “breath”

ng *niga* “when, then, as soon as”

nhr *nnhar* “day”

nnhar l larbeɛ “wednesday”

nnharad “today”

nk *nekkin/nekki/nekk* (1s/PRO) “I, me”

nq *tanuqqit - tinuqqitan* “drop”

nš *inši* “someone/something”

nsn *insan* “person”

nšn *nišan* “precise, straight”

nt *netta* (3sm/PRO) “he, him”

ntg *nṭeg nṭeg neṭṭeg* “fly”

ntθ *nettaθa* (3sf/PRO) “she, her”

nwm *nnawm* “sleep”

nwr *nnuwwar* “flowers”

nžm *nežma - nžum* “star”

nɛs *nɛes* “sleep”

nɛθ *nɛeθ nɛeθ tneɛɛeθ* “indicate”

nγ *neγ neγ~a neqqa* “kill”

nγ *-naγ/ γn-* (1p/DO) “us”

nγ *-anaγ/aγen-* (1p/IO) “for us”

nγ *-naγ* (1p/PREP) “us”

P

pr *perper* (I) “twinkle”

Q

q *taquqet* “granule, single/piece”

taquqet l lubya “a single bean”

taquqet n ddra “a granule of corn”

taquqet n irden “a granule of wheat”

q *qa* (INP)

qbl *qbel* “in front of, before”

qbl *taqbilt* “tribe”

qḍ *lqaḍiya* “case, situation”

qδm *qδim* “old”

ql *qqel qqel teqqel* “return”

ql *qell* “less”

qlb *qleb* (P) “turn”

qlb *qelleb qelleb tqellab* “taste”

qlɛ *qlaɛ qlaɛ qellaɛ* “pluck, pull out, run, flee, leave”

qlaɛqlaɛ “pluckable (crops)”

qm *aqemmum* (*uqemmum*) - *iqemmumen/iqemmam* “mouth”

qm *qqim qqim tγima* “stay, sit”

qmḥ *qqmaḥ* (coll) “seed”

qmz *qamizun* “pyjamas”

qn *qqen* “tie”

qny *lqniyya*/*qniyya* - *qnayen*/*uqnen* “rabbit” (BM)

qr *qra iqra* (AR) “learn, teach”

qrb *qarrab* (I) “approach”

qrib “near, nearby”

qrm *qarm* - *qarma* - *qarmin* (ADJ) “silent, quiet”

qrɛ *taqurraɛt* - *tiqurraɛin* “bulb”

taqurraɛt n tiskert “a garlicbulb”

qrɛ *qarɛa* “pumpkin”

qrs *qersasiyu - qersasiwaθ* “shorts”

qrθ *qurraθ* “booklet”

qṣ *lqiṣṣa* “story”

qṣm *meqṣumin* (p) “seperated, divided”

qṭɛ *qṭaɛ* (P) “cut off”

mqaṭɛin (p) “being cut off”

qɛ *lqaɛaθ* “event”

qɛd *qaɛida* “custom”

qwṣ *quwweṣ quwweṣ tquwwaṣ* “bend down”

R

r *ara* “give”

r *ara ura ttara* “write”

r *ra* (FUT) “will, shall”

r *rri rri rraz* “vomit, inhale, return”

rb *tarbat - tirbatan* “(unmarried) girl”

rbḥ *rrbaḥ* “profit”

rbm *rubbama* “perhaps”

rbɛ *rrbiɛ* “spring, grass”

rd *irden* (coll) “wheat”

rḍ *raḍiu* “radio”

rg *targa - tiruggan* “irrigation canal”

rgʲz *argʲaz* (*urgʲaz*) - *irgʲazen* “man”

rḥ *rḥa - lerḥi* “mill”

rḥ *rriḥa* “perfume”

rḥb *tarḥabt* “earth, ground”

rk *rka* (STAT) “be rotten”

rks *rkas* “glass”

rkγt *rkaγit* “paper” (BM)

rml *rrmel* “sand”

rnb *arnab* “rabbit”

rq *rqiwaq - rqiqa - rqiqin* (ADJ) “slim”

ršq *ršeq šeq reššeq* “split”

rṭb *rrṭab* “smooth”

rwḥ *arwaḥ* “wind”

ryḥ *riyyaḥ riyyaḥ triyyaḥ* “rest”

ryḍ *rriyaḍ* “garden”

ryḍ *rriyaḍa* “sports”

ryq *ariyaq* “breakfast”

rẓn *ireẓẓanen* “hornets”

S

s *tasa*/*tasat* - *uçfat* “cow”

s -*as*/*as*- (3sm/IO) “him”

s -*as*/*as*- (3sf/IO) “her”

s -*s* (3sm/PREP) “him”

s -*s* (3sf/PREP) “her”

s -*s* (3sm/ADN) “his”

s -*s* (3sf/ADN) “her”

s *s* (INSPR) “with,

sbɛ *ssbaɛ* “lion”

sbɛ *usbuɛ* “week”

sf *asif* (*wasif*) - *isaffen* “river”

tasift (dim) “small river””

sf *tasaft* “chestnuttree”

sfr *safer* (P) *tsafar* (I) “travel”

sgm *sag^{j}em sag^{j}em tsag^{j}am* “wait, await”

sgn *asegnu* “fog”

sk *asekkaw* (*usekkaw*) - *isekkawen* “horn”

skn *sken isken* (AR) “live, reside”

skr *sker sker skar* “do, make”

skr *taskk^{w}urt* - *tiskk^{w}uran* “patridge”

skr *tiskert* (*tiskert*, coll) “garlic”

skr *tisukran* “calves”

skt *sakit* - *sakta* - *saktin* “quiet, silent”

sl *sell sell tesla* “listen”

sl *asli* (*usla*) - *islan* “groom, fiance”

taslat (*tslat*) - *tislatan* “bride, fiancee”

slf *aslif* “brother-in-law”

taslift “sister-in-law”

slm *sellum* “ladder”

sm *susem sasem tsusum* “listen”

sm *lism*/*ism* “name”

smḥ *smeḥ* (P) “leave behind, leave (in the lurch)”

smḥ *smeḥ smeḥ tsamaḥ* “allow”

smn *smin* (STAT) “be fat”

smana/smina “fat”

smn *ssimana* “week”

sn *asan* (*usan*) - *isanen* “tooth”

sn *isennanen* “spines”

sn *snin* “years”

sn *ssen ssen ssen* “know”

sn *-asen*/*asen-* (3p/IO) “with them, to them”

sn *-sen* (3p/PREP) “them”

snbr *tasnubart* “stone pine”

snd *tasendut - tisendutan* “butter”

sq *ssuq* “market”

sqf *sqef/asqef* “roof”

sr *sarir* “bed”

sr *sir/fsir* “after”

sir ṣṣala “after prayer”

fsyir l leɛša “after dinner”

srdn *aserdun* (*userdun*) - *iserdunen* “mule”

taserdunt - tiserdunan “female mule”

asriden - isridenen (dim) “little mule”

sržm *saržem* “window”

srɣ *sruɣ sraɣ sruɣ* “light, burn”

ss *asssa* “today”

sṭ *ssuṭ ssaṭ tsuṭ* “blow”

sṭḥ *aseṭṭiḥ* “roof”

sw *su su~a sessu* “drink”

swl *siwel sawel tsawal* “talk, speak”

swn *siwana* “crow”

syb *siyyeb siyyeb tsiyyab* “throw”

syd *ssiyyed* “mister, person”

syd *asyad* “circle of stones for building a clay oven”

sɛ *ssaɛa - ssaɛaθ* “hour, while”

sɛ *saɛasaɛa* “sometimes” (BM)

Ṣ

ṣ *iṣṣad* (IMP-AR) “hunt”

ṣbn *ṣebben ṣebben tṣebban* “wash”

ṣbr *ṣber iṣber* (AR) “be patient”

ṣbṭ *aṣebbaṭ* (*uṣebbaṭ*, un) - *iṣebbaṭen/ṣbabeṭ ṣebbaṭ* (coll) “shoe”

ṣdr *ṣder* “breast”

ṣedri “breasts”

ṣdɛ *tṣeddaɛ* (I) “make noise”

ṣṣdaɛ “noise”

ṣf *ṣṣif* “summer”

ṣf *ṣafi* “that’s it”

ṣfḥ *ṣfiḥa* “horseshoe”

mṣeffaḥ “having horseshoes”

ṣfr *ṣfer - ṣefra* (f) (ADJ) “yellow”

ṣfr *ṣfira l lmakla* “large placemat”

ṣḥ *ṣṣaḥiḥ* “correct, right”

ṣlṭ *ṣṣulṭan* “king”

ṣm *tiṣmat* “cold”

ṣqṣ *ṣeqṣa ṣeqṣa tṣeqṣa* “ask”

ṣr *ṣraṭ ṣraṭ ṣerraṭ* “swallow”

ṣwr *leṣwar* “walls”

ṣwr *ṣuwwer ṣuwwer tṣuwwar* “draw”

sžd *sžed isžed* (AR) “prosternate, kneel (down)”

Š

š *ši* “some”

š *šš šš~a tett* “eat”

š *ša* (FUT) “will, shall”

šb *tšaba* (I) “resemble”

šbç *ššebbaç* “window”

šbr *šebbar šebbar tšebbar* “grab, hold”

šd *šedd šedd tšedda* “tie”

šfr *šfar n tiṭṭawan* “eyelashes”

šḥl *šḥal* “how much”

šhr *ššhar* “month”

šḥθ *ššeḥθa* “fatless”

šk *škun~ška* “who”

šlḥ *ššelḥa* “Berber language”

šm *šemm šemm tšemma* “smell”

šmla *ššemla* “white veil of bride”

šmr *šmorra* (coll) “fig”

šmɛ *šemɛa* “candle”

šmθ *šmeθ šmeθ* “trick, cheat”

šmr *tašammart* “tall cloth/dress for men or women”

šn *šennu* “what”

šnkf *ašnekkaf* (*ušnekkaf*) - *išnekkafen* “hedgehog”

šqr *ašaqur* (*ušaqur*) - *išuqar* “axe”

tašaqurt (dim) “little axe”

št *šta* “winter”

štlt *šatalut* “bunch”

šatalut n tiskert “bunch of garlics”

šw *šwa* “what”

šwr *šwari* “pack saddle”

šwy *šwiya* “little, bit”

šyr *šiyyar šiyyar tšiyyar* “wave (hand)”

šyṭ *šiyaṭahen* “leftovers”

šγl *šγel* “work” (BM)

šɛr *ššɛar* “hair, fur”

šθw *šeθwa* “winter”

T

t *-t/t-* (3sf/DO) “her”

tfḥ *tteffaḥt* (un) - *tteffaḥan tteffaḥ* (coll) “apple”

tg^{j}m *atg^{j}am* (*watg^{j}am*) “yesterday, the day before”

aṣellatg^{j}am “the day before yesterday”

tl *tala - taliwen* “source, spring”

tlt *talit* “third”

tmr *ttmar* (coll) “dates”

tn *tani - tanya* (f) (ADJ) “second”

tnṭlɛ *tanṭaliɛ* “pumpkin” (BM)

tql *tqil - tqila* (f) (ADJ) “heavy”

tqšr *tqašar* “socks”

tr *ttru ttru ttru* “weep, cry”

trx *ttarix* “history”

tšw *itšawtšawen* “birds”

txm *txemmem* (I) “think”

tyt *tayt* (*tayt*) “shoulder”

zdu tayt “armpit”

tɛžb *taɛžeb taɛžeb tɛežžab* “befall”

Ṭ

ṭ *tiṭṭ - tiṭṭawan* “eye”

lešfar n tiṭṭ “eyelash”

ššfar n tiṭṭ “eyelid”

mummu n tiṭṭ “eyeball”

ṭbl *ṭabla* “table”

ṭḍ *aṭuḍ - iṭuḍan* “finger”

ṭhr *ṭhar* “back”

ṭl *aṭil* (*waṭil*, coll) “grapes”

ṭl *ṭella* “watch”

ṭlḥ *aṭelliḥ - iṭelliḥan* “forehead”

taṭelliḥt - tiṭelliḥan “forehead”

ṭlq *ṭlaqa iṭlaqa* (AR) “meet, meet eachother”

ṭmbl *ṭṭumubil* “car”

ṭmṭš *ṭumaṭiš* (coll) “tomatoes”

ṭq *ṭṭaq - ṭṭiqan* “niche, window”

ṭr *aṭar* (*uṭar*) - *iṭaren* “leg”

ṭamšuṭ n uṭar “foot”

taɛeqquqt n uṭar “ankle”

taqṣebt n uṭar “shin”

lḥuθa n uṭar “spawn”

ṭs *ṭṭes ṭṭes teṭṭes* “sleep”

ṭt *ṭṭet ṭṭet teṭṭet “suck”*

ṭṭ *ṭṭlib - ṭṭulban* “enemy”

ṭwl *ṭwil* “tall”

ṭwl *aṭewwal - iṭulan* “father-in-law of husband/brother-in-law of husband”

taṭewwalt “mother-in-law of husband”

tx *ttu ttu tettu* “forget”

ṭxrf *ṭxarf* (coll) “fruit”

ṭy *ṭayṭay* “mushroom” (BM)

ṭyfr *ṭayfur* “table”

Θ

θ *-θ/θ-* (3sm/DO) “him”

θbn *aθebban - iθebbina* “a pair of pants”

θn *-ten/ten-* (3p/DO) “them”

U

u *u/wa* “and”

W

w *wa* “well, allthough”

wfl *tawfalt - tiwfalan* “egg”

wl *wella* “or”

wl *walu* “nothing”

wlkn *walakin* “but”

wn *wani* - *tani* - *wini* (DISD) “that, those”

wn -*wen/wn*- (2p/DO) “you (p.)”

wn -*awen*/*awen*- (2p/IO) “for you (p.)”

wn -*un* (2p/PREP) “you (p.)”

wrg *werg werg targa* “dream”

targa “dream”

wrz *awriz* - *iwerzen* “heel”

wš *waš* “whether”

wx *waxxa* “all right, yes”

wyṭ *wayeṭ* - *tayeṭ* - *wiyeṭ* “other”

wθ *wweθ wθa tkaθa* “hit, strike”

X

x *ax* “brother, friend”

x *xf*/*xaf*- (IMPR) “on, about”

xdm *xdem xdem xeddem* “work”

xdm *xeddam ixeddam* (AR) “work”

xδn *taxaδent* - *tixaθuman* “ring”

xḍr *xḍer* “green”

xḍr *xuḍar*/*xuḍra* “vegetables”

xlq *xleq xleq xleq* “be born”

xls *xelles* (P) “pay”

xlt *xalti* “maternal aunt”

xnfr *taxenfurt* - *tixenfuran*/*xnafer* “nose”

xr *ittaxer* (IMP-AR) “be last, end last”

laxri - *laxriya* - *laxriyin* (ADJ) “last”

xrb *xarebbi* “many”

xrf *taxuraft* - *tixurafan* “fables”

xrf *xrif* “autumn”

xrž *ixerrež* (IMP-AR) “get out, let out”

xs *xess xess xess* “need, must, have, want”

xṭr *xṭar xṭar texṭar* “choose”

xṭr *lxeṭra - lxeṭrat* “time”

xṭṭ *xeṭṭet xeṭṭet txeṭṭat* “decide”

xwf *xawfan* “afraid”

xym *axeyyam* (*uxeyyam*) - *ixeyyamen* “house”

axeyyam l lɛafya “kitchen”

taxeyyamt - tixiyyamen “living room/lower room”

xyṭ *xiyyeṭ xiyyeṭ txiyyaṭ* “sew”

Y

y *-y/y-* (1s/DO) “me”

y *-ay/ay-* (2s/IO) “for me”

yd *ayda - iṭan/wida* “dog” (BM)

taydat “bitch” (BM)

yh *yih* “indeed”

ym *ayyamaθ/l’ayyam* “days”

ym *yemma* “mother”

yn *yan/yat* (f) “one”

yn *tuyyent - iwiyyen* “tree” (BM)

yr *lyara* “reed”

ywr *aywer* “moon”

Z

z *izi - izan* “fly”

tizit (*tizit*) - *tizit* “mosquito”

zd *zid* (HOR) “come one”

zḍ *zḍu* “under, beneath”

zg *zg zga-* (ABLPR) “from, of”

zg *tazga - tizuggan* “forrest”

zgγ *azegg^{w}aγ* “red”

zlq *izleq* (IMP-AR) “slip”

zr *tazart* (coll) “fig”

tazart “figtree”

zrf *azref - izerfan/izrifen* “road, path”

zrγml *azerγammel* (*uzerγammel*) - *izerγamlin* “centipede”

zt *zzit* “oi006C”

zw *tazizwa* - *tizizwa* “bee”

zγ *tazuγt* “milk”

zγl *tazγult* - *tiwzγal*/*tizγal*/*tuzγal* “spoon”

zεm *zeεma* “supposedly, meaning, as”

Ẓ

ẓl *taẓellit*/*aẓellit* - *iẓellitan* “tail”

ẓl *ẓall ẓull tẓalla* “pray”

ẓr *aẓru* - *iẓran* “stone”

taẓrut “stone”

ẓr *aẓar* (*uẓar*) - *iẓuran* “treeroot”

ẓr *ẓar ẓar twala* “see”

ẓrq *ẓreq* “blue”

ẓyr *ẓiyyar ẓiyyar tẓiyyar* “tighten”

ẓγr *ẓuγγur* (I) “pull”

Ž

žd *žeddi* - *žeddiwaθ* “grandfather”

žd *ždid* “new”

žlb *želban* “greenpeas”

žld *lželd/želd/lželdeθ* “skin, leather”

zlf *zlayf* “plate of clay”

žmε *žmaε* (P) “gather”

žr *ažar* - *ižaren* “neighbours”

žwb *žawb* (P) “answer”

žwb *lžawb* “answer”

Σ

ε *εa* (ALPR) “on, at”

εa wṭaliε “above”

εd *lεud* “wood”

εd *εid* “festival”

ɛid imuqqren “greater eid festival”

ɛid imeẓẓin “smaller eid festival”

ɛds *taɛeddist* “belly”

aɛeddis (aug) “big belly”

ɛf *lɛafya - lɛafya* “fire”

ɛks *ɛeks* “contrary”

ɛl *ɛalli ɛella tɛellay* “go up, succeed”

ɛl *ɛla* “on”

ɛlm *ɛellem ɛellem tɛellam* “learn”

ɛlš *ɛlalluš* (*uɛlalluš*) - *iɛlullaš* “butterfly”

ɛm *lɛam*/*ɛam* “year”

ɛamayen “two years”

ɛam ay ðrin/azegwsnaḍ “last year”

lɛamad “this year”

ɛm *ɛammi* “paternal uncle”

ɛamti - ɛamtiwaθ “paternal aunt”

ɛm *ɛma* (STAT) “be blind”

ɛm *ɛumm* (A) *tɛumm* (I) “swim”

ɛmr *ɛumr - ma* “never”

ɛrq *ɛreq iɛreq* (AR) “sweat”

ɛš *lɛiš* “life”

ɛšb *ɛašub* “grass”

ɛšn *aɛšin - iɛšinen* “large bucket”

ɛṭṣ *ɛṭeṣ iɛṭeṣ* (AR) “sneeze”

ɛṭš *leɛṭaš* “thirst”

ɛwd *lɛawda - lɛawdeθ* “horse”

ɛwd *ɛawed* “again”

ɛwð *ɛaweð ɛaweð tɛawað* “report”

ɛwn *leɛwan* “wind, breeze”

ɛy *ɛeyya - ɛeyyaθ - ɛeyyaθ/ɛeyyaw* (ADJ) “tired”

ɛeyya - ɛeyyana - ɛeyyanin (ADJ) “tired”

ɛyl *aɛeyyal - iɛeyyalen* “boy, son”

taɛeyyalt - tiɛeyyalan “girls, daughter”

	leɛwawel “children”
	lɛayla/lɛa’ila “family”
ɛyn	*tɛayan* (I) “wait, await”
ɛyr	*ɛyar ɛyar tɛeyar* “play”
ɛz	*leɛziza* “grandmother”
ɛzr	*ɛuzri* “bachelor”

ABBREVIATIONS

A	aorist
ABLPR	ablative preposition
ADJ	adjective
ADN	adnominal suffix
ALPR	allative preposition
ANAPH	anaphoric deixis
AR	Moroccan Arabic
aug	augmentative
BM	Bni Menṣur
C	consonant
Ĉ	geminate consonant
CAUS	causative
coll	collective noun
COMPR	comitative preposition
COPR	coordinative preposition
DATPR	dative preposition
dim	diminutive
DISD	distal deixis
DISD-AR	Moroccan Arabic distal deixis
DO	direct object
DO-AR	Moroccan Arabic direct object (accusative pronoun)
EA	état d’annexion
EL	état libre
f	feminine
FOC	focalisation
FUT	future
GENPR	genitive preposition
HITH	hither
HOR	hortative

I	intensive
IMP	imperative
IMP-AR	Moroccan Arabic imperfective
IMPR	implicative preposition
INDEF	indefinite article
INP	intensive particle
INP-AR	Moroccan Arabic intensive particle
INSPR	instrumental preposition
IO	indirect object
IO-AR	Moroccan Arabic indirect object (dative pronoun)
LOCPR	locative preposition
m	masculine
MA	Moroccan Arabic
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
NEG	negative
ONOM	onomatopoeic
P	preterite
p	plural
PLN	place name
PNN	personal name
POSS	possessive pronoun
POSS-AR	Moroccan Arabic possessive pronoun (genitive pronoun)
PP	prepositional phrase
PRD	proximal deixis
PRD-AR	Moroccan Arabic proximal deixis
PREP	prepositional suffix
PREP-AR	Moroccan Arabic prepositional suffix
PRF-AR	Moroccan Arabic perfective
PRO	independent pronoun
PRO-AR	Moroccan Arabic independent pronoun
PROS	prospective

PSP	past particle
PTC	participle
PTC-AR	Moroccan Arabic participle
RCP	reciprocal pronoun
RELD	relative deixis
RELD-AR	Moroccan Arabic relative deixis
RLV	relativizer
RLV-AR	Moroccan Arabic relativizer
s	singular
STAT	Stative
un	unit noun
V	vowel
VOC	vocative
x-	preverbal clitic/proclitic
-x	postverbal clitic/enclitic
x-…	prefix
…-x	suffix
…-x-…	infix
x-…-x	circumfix
ø	zero

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allati, A., *Diachronie tamazighte ou berbère* (Tétouan: L'Université Abdelmalek Essaâdi, 2002).

Behnstedt, P., 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe en el Rif', in *Estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí* 6 (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 2002).

Bisson, P., *Leçons de Berbère Tamazight: dialecte des Aït Ndhir (Aït Nâaman)* (Rabat: Moncho, 1940).

Boogert, N. van den and H. Stroomer, *Tashelhiyt Berber of South Morocco: a morphological survey* (Leiden, 2004).

Colin, G.S., 'Le parler berbère des Ġmāra', in *Hespéris* 9, (Paris: Librairie Larose, 1929).

Gaudio, A., *Maroc du nord: Cités Andalouses et Montagnes Berbères* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1981).

Khalil, O., 'Les origines de l'Être dans la langue arabe', in *Cahiers du Scribe* 1 (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008)

Kossmann, M.G., *Esquisse grammaticale du rifain oriental* (Paris etc.: Éditions Peeters, 2000).

Kossmann, M.G., 'Coursematerial: Introduction to Berber linguistics'.

Kossmann, M.G., *Grammaire du parler berbère de Figuig (Maroc oriental)* (Paris etc.: Éditions Peeters, 1997).

Kossmann, M.G., 'On parallel morphological systems due to the borrowing of non-native paradigms' (forthcoming).

Marçais, G., *La berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au moyen âge* (Casablanca: Afrique Orient, 2003).

Mountassir, A. El-, *Initiation au Tachelhit: Langue Berbère du sud du Maroc* (Casablanca: Afrique Orient, 2004).

Otten, R., *Basiswoordenboek Marokkaans Arabisch - Nederlands en Nederlands-Marokkaans Arabisch* (Muiderberg: Coutinho, 1983).

Qiyādat Bū Aḥmad, *Muɛṭayāt ɛāmma ḥawla l-žamāɛa l-qarawiyya li-Bani Būzra* (Bu Aḥmed, 2006)

Renisio, A., *Étude sur les dialectes berbères des Beni Iznassen, du Rif et des Senhaja de Sraïr: grammaire, textes et lexique* (Paris: Leroux, 1932).

Sadiqi, F., *Grammaire du berbère* (Casablanca: Afrique Orient, 2004).

Sobelman, H. and Richard S. Harrell (ed.), *A dictionary of Moroccan Arabic: English-Arabic* (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1963)

Stroomer, H., *In de schaduw van het Arabisch: over niet-Arabische talen en culturen in Noord-Afrika en het Midden-Oosten* (Leiden: Leiden University, 2002).

Websites

http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=gho

http://maps.google.nl

http://www.sil.org